

# SOCIAL EDUCATION

## CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITOR'S PAGE . . . . .	231
THE CONSTITUTION, THE COURT, AND THE PEOPLE . . . . . <i>Phillips Bradley</i>	235
MAKING ECONOMICS REAL . . . . . <i>A. W. Troelstrup</i>	243
RECENT TRENDS IN SOCIAL-STUDIES TESTS . . . . . <i>J. Wayne Wrightstone</i>	246
HISTORY IN THE NEW SOCIAL-STUDIES CURRICULUM . . . . . <i>Julius E. Warren</i>	251
POOR OLD HISTORY . . . . . <i>Alan Lake Chidsey</i>	255
SOCIAL SCIENCES IN HIGH SCHOOL: REPORT OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE OTHER SOCIAL STUDIES . . . . .	259
THE COMMUNITY AS A LABORATORY FOR ELEMENTARY- SCHOOL SOCIAL SCIENCE . . . . . <i>Mary Harden</i>	266
EDUCATION IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS . . . . . <i>William T. Stone</i>	271
THE LITERATURE OF POLITICS—1935 AND 1936 . . . . . <i>Phillips Bradley</i>	273
HAVE YOU READ? . . . . . <i>Katharine Elizabeth Crane</i>	282
NOTES AND NEWS . . . . .	288
BOOK REVIEWS . . . . .	296
PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED . . . . .	308

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## Editor's Page

### "THE OTHER SOCIAL STUDIES"

**H**ISTORY has long held first place among the social studies taught in secondary schools. In earlier grades the field has been shared with geography and, to a lesser extent, with various forms of civics, and in senior high school commercial or economic geography for some pupils, and civics in connection with American history, gained early recognition. Since 1916, when the Committee on the Social Studies made its recommendations, there has been increasing attention to economics, government, and sociology, or to some selection or combination of these fields in a course often called problems of democracy. Yet history has retained a predominant position; even where fused, co-ordinated, or integrated courses have been adopted, the statement is still usually true. Are there reasons of weight for this situation, or does it simply bear witness to the strength of tradition?

In the most substantial treatment of the grade placement of history and social-studies materials which has appeared in English, Henry Johnson's chapter on grading in his *Teaching of History in Elementary and Secondary Schools*, Professor Johnson concludes that "elementary history is made up essentially of particular facts," that it is largely concerned with human beings and their environment, that it is descriptive and narrative. On the other hand analysis and generalization, thoughts, feel-

ings, and resolutions are relatively advanced, and will be taught better when pupils have matured both through direct experience and observation and through the vicarious experience provided by a study of history and, quite probably, of geography. For those who accept this analysis and reasoning, an adequate justification is provided for the attention accorded to history in the elementary and junior high school, and for emphasizing it in the later grades. But when do pupils become mature enough to undertake studies which presumably are more analytical and generalized? No categorical answer can be given; too much depends on the presentation, the particular pupils taught, and their background. The Commission on History of the College Entrance Examination Board would postpone the "departmentalizing of the social studies" until the student is in college—which of course neglects the large number of pupils who do not go on to college, save as history overlaps other social studies. President Hutchins, on the other hand, would transfer the social science sometimes taught in the first two years of college down to the last two years of high school. The fact that economics and problems of democracy have sometimes proved difficult for secondary-school students is not conclusive argument against this proposal; the material selected, or the manner of its presentation, may well have been inappropriate, and certainly

needed teaching materials have been lacking in most schools.

Much experimentation is needed. Meanwhile the report of the subcommittee on the "other social studies" to the Commission on History, printed in this issue, merits careful attention. A professor of government, a professor of economics, and three experienced secondary-school teachers, two of whom have also long been engaged in teacher training, have given careful attention to the possibility and desirability of teaching economics, government, and sociology in high school, and have reported unanimously. They recommend a study of economics or of "contemporary civilization" in the twelfth year; they present three alternative organizing principles for such study, and tentatively suggest specific themes or topics. The Report is not narrowly concerned with preparation for college, or with "rights" of any subject or subjects; it considers first the needs of youth, and its recommendations provide flexibility in meeting a variety of needs.

#### MR KEPNER'S DISSENTING OPINION

A PRIVATE-SCHOOL teacher and administrator comments on Mr Kepner's reasons for not signing the Report of the C. E. E. B. Commission on History:

Sir:—Although Mr Kepner approves several of the main features of the Report on History, finding especially commendable "the aspirations voiced for the improvement of teaching in the secondary-school social studies, for the fostering of wiser and better teachers, and for the divorce of teaching from a single textbook," he proceeds to raise objections the pertinency and validity of which I must question. Since I write as a classroom teacher and as a representative of private schools I hope that my point of view may be considered practical.

Mr Kepner declares that the Commission did not deliberate upon "what many practical school men regard as the very heart of the problem, i.e., What are the C. E. E. B.

examinations for?" (p. 565 f.). Surely the Report as a whole presents one obvious answer to the question: it is a detailed discussion of what the examinations can do to improve the teaching of history. If the Report is not convincing to history teachers, is it possible that they have read it with minds set by past stereotyped patterns of history teaching rather than with a sense of the need of youth in our changing, transitional culture?

I agree with Mr Kepner that the social process approach to the social studies is attractive, but I fail to see wherein it is inconsistent. He asks: "Does the Commission propose to teach history or sociology in the schools?" (p. 566). I do not see that it makes any difference whether we call our work history or sociology as long as our students come to understand the dynamic and developing nature of our past and the part that it must play in the changing present and future. We are not training them to become either "historians" or "sociologists," but we are aiding them to take an intelligent part in the future development of a culture in the control of which they must presently participate.

Although the Report says that "there is a decided disposition to develop history courses for the purpose of furnishing necessary background to an understanding of current political issues" (p. 549), it is not clear, as Mr Kepner writes, that the classroom teacher is told that a knowledge of all the historical background is in effect necessary as a basis for the understanding of the present. Of course two units of European and one of the American history are recommended, but the Report says distinctly that obviously in any attempt to cover in one school year the history of the western world to the sixteenth century "only a very little of all that is known can be considered . . ." (p. 553), and that "all that the Commission is advocating is not a mastery of *more* facts but the selection of the facts to be mastered in accordance with some sound principle" (p. 558). The Com-



mission does not advocate the divorce of social material from the important elements of time and place, but desires to retain enough chronological treatment to show men "remote in time and place wrestling with the same problems which face us today," and to study civilization as a constantly changing culture, not static but dynamic (p. 553 f.). Accordingly I fail to see why Mr Kepner is troubled by the statement that "all of the basic forces are present in any age," or why he asks: "If such be the case, why study all ages in order to understand the present social forces?" (p. 556). The Report clearly indicates that history is regarded as a process of development, proceeding from one cultural pattern to another, yet always retaining the basic social and economic factors that cause change. If, then, the student is to understand the evolutionary nature of his past and present, he must be familiar with these transitions and the operation of these forces.

Mr Kepner writes that the Report "reflects an essential fancifulness that suggests wishful thinking." This may be true if the Report is judged by traditional patterns of teaching, but not if it is considered in terms of the obligations of education in our changing world. The objection to "a relatively untried plan of organization . . . which never received serious consideration until this Commission discovered it" seems inconsistent with a previous remark that the same program "cannot be termed as liberal as that of a national committee report now twenty years in our educational past."

No doubt the Commission would agree with Mr Kepner that "the good teacher, the wise teacher, the well rounded teacher intellectually, is not and will not be produced by reports of commissions however good such reports may be." Facing this problem the Commission states:

It will be admitted that the proposed method of approach calls for a teacher who has read widely and has thought much. And everyone knows that the supply of such teachers is scarce. But the desirability of fostering them is apparent. The time we hope has passed

when the teaching of history in the schools can safely be left to those whose chief business is to coach athletic teams, whose knowledge of history is bound by the covers of a single textbook, and whose teaching technique is controlled by the familiar short cuts to cramming for college entrance examinations. We need better teachers more than we need any change in the curriculum. The Commission hopes that its proposed method of approach will make the task of the poor teacher more difficult and the task of the good teacher more stimulating and more inspiring. So long as the methods employed by the cram master meet with a fair measure of success they will endure. And so long as they endure the men and women who should be attracted to the noblest of all professions will either be driven away from teaching altogether or else seek a better outlet for the truth that is in them in the colleges. The colleges without doubt need them badly enough, but the colleges can only build upon the foundations laid in the schools. There the seeds must be sown if the harvest is to be gathered later (p. 559).

This quotation shows that the Commission does not expect to create good teachers out of the material at hand unless that material already has the organic ability to grow and meet new requirements, but it does expect the new approach to attract organically gifted teachers to the profession. Hundreds of well trained and gifted young teachers are knocking for admission to the profession. If they are challenged by a program such as that outlined in the Report, they will contribute their part in adapting it to the needs of the present and the future, to which traditionalism and defense of a static society can contribute little.

JOHN S. WELLING

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New York City

THE chairman of the Commission on History sends the following rejoinder to Dr S. P. McCutchen's letter published in the March issue of *Social Education*:

Sir:—I hesitate to ask for more space in your columns to discuss the C. E. E. B. Report, but some questions are raised by Professor McCutchen in his letter printed in your March issue which I think should be considered.

It becomes increasingly apparent that a great deal of the criticism levelled at the Report really proceeds from a misunder-

standing of it, and a good deal of the misunderstanding seems to proceed from ambiguities arising out of the use of such terms as "historical approach," "problems," and the likes of them.

Professor McCutchen, for example, sees something equivocal in the two statements: (a) "departmentalization of the social studies had better be deferred until . . . college"; (b) "the historical approach is the natural and easy method of approach to the so-called social studies." I think the real difficulty here is with the word "historical." The Commission has used the word to describe a method of approach, not to designate one of the social-studies disciplines. If Professor McCutchen will consider the offending adjective in the sense in which it is employed when we oppose to it the functional approach, he will realize that all the Commission meant to say was that it believed it better to approach the study of man in society in terms of the historical evolution of the whole social complex rather than in terms of functional economics or politics or sociology.

Again, Professor McCutchen protests that we can hardly think of man remote in time wrestling with the same problems which face us today and at the same time maintain a strictly historical approach, since the "problems which face us today can not be considered until they are reached in their historical context." Here the difficulty is with the word "problems," for the word "problems" as the Commission uses it designates those fundamental social problems of food, shelter, biological continuance, etc., etc., which have faced man in society at all times and in all places. We do not have to wait until they are "reached in their historical context" because they are implicit in every historical context. That is a matter which needs to be emphasized, for the whole point of the method of approach advocated by the Commission lies precisely in the recognition of the fact that

there are certain basic problems common to all civilizations.

Professor McCutchen speaks strongly for the "problems approach." The term needs definition for it can be applied in a variety of ways. As I understand it, the fundamental social problems outlined in the Report might be used as the basis of a "problems approach," always with the proviso that the integrity of the human be preserved and that we emerge with a fairly complete picture of whatever society, past or present, we have under consideration.

I can not endorse his view that the approach to the past from the present does not lend itself very easily to indoctrination, for I believe that indoctrination can be introduced by any door. The great weakness, it seems to me, in the approach to the past from the present is that it almost inevitably distorts the past by imposing upon it the same emphases which characterize the present. If there is one thing we need to learn about the past it is that different civilizations have had different standards of value and often widely differing ideals of what constitutes the good life. What is even more to the point, our contemporary emphases tend to slight many significant manifestations of the human genus which other ages have called forth and which have ennobled and enriched human living in ways we need to remember. The setting up of the present as a *terminus ad quem* tends to encourage the prevalent disposition to believe that whatever is, is right, and to set up unconsciously as the ultimate social objective the ideology of the contemporary world. We need to know all that man has been before we can wisely plan for all that he may be. We need to put the present in its place, for the present is, after all, simply what we see with our own eyes of humanity on the march towards a richer and a fuller life.

CONYERS READ

University of Pennsylvania

# The Constitution, the Court, and the People

PHILLIPS BRADLEY

NO proposal for governmental reform—perhaps since 1789—has created so lively a debate as the President's Supreme Court program. The proposal itself to raise the number of justices to fifteen is revolutionary only in the directness of the challenge to the Supreme Court's present trend of thought. The number of justices he requests to add is startling chiefly in the immediacy of the potential appointments. It is hardly larger than the "expectancy" of recent history for a two-term President. Wilson appointed three justices; Harding, during his brief tenancy of the White House, four; Hoover, during one term, three. So far Roosevelt has had no opportunity to appoint, and it might easily happen that no new appointments to the present court would be made during the next three and three-quarters years.

The widespread reaction to his proposal suggests, therefore, that other and more fundamental reasons, besides mere devotion to governmental orthodoxy, animate the opponents of his proposal. It may very well be that profound economic and social tensions, not dissimilar from those which inspired the debates over the Constitution a century and a half ago, are reflected in the current controversy over the court. Is it possible to discover some clues to objectivity and realism about what is, after all, a significant—and a symbolic—event in contemporary American politics? Three will be suggested here: first, the nature of the Constitution as "instrument" or "symbol"; second, the function of the Supreme Court

as interpreter of the Constitution, and the character of its performance of this function; third, the alternatives to the President's plan, and their availability and efficacy.

## THE CONSTITUTION AS "INSTRUMENT" OR "SYMBOL"—THE THEORIES

JUDICIAL review has become in the United States something very different from what the framers may have envisaged. Whatever opinions were then held by the "fifty-five men" as to the utility or correctness of the principle, they were not prepared to put it explicitly in the Constitution. Nor were they protagonists of its illimitability or immutability. Even John Marshall, in face of an impending impeachment of a colleague who had lost his mind, was prepared, in 1805, to exchange with Congress its power of impeachment for the Supreme Court's newly asserted doctrine of review—by allowing the "reversal" of decisions found objectionable by Congress. Some new factor must have intervened in the century and a third since then to raise judicial review to the level of the sacrosanct. That factor is primarily our view as to the nature and function of the Constitution. A perspective of how those views have changed will indicate the bearing of the proposal on the balance of economic and political forces behind the status quo.

It may, first of all, be useful to recall in what the Constitution today consists. When the original document left the hands of the framers, it was composed of a series of articles for the framework of a federal gov-



ernment, and a statement of powers granted to it, and of limitations upon it and upon the state governments. Before it was ratified, however, amendments were proposed which not only added a "bill of rights," but, in the fifth and tenth, introduced doctrines politically dynamic for the future. The first of these inserted the "due process" concept into the federal sphere of government—then generally understood to be applicable to procedural rather than substantive aspects of law. The second introduced—without enumerating their nature or extent—a blanket reservation to the states or to the people of all powers not specifically granted to the federal government.

Since 1790 eleven other amendments have been added, the most important of which, the fourteenth, added the "due process" limitation—still thought of as a procedural rather than substantive—to restrictions on state legislation. But the Constitution has been amended by indirect as well as by direct procedures. Congressional legislation has added many items to the formal Constitution—for instance, the whole administrative system including the cabinet. Political usage has modified even the specific prescriptions of the Constitution, for example, as to the actual popular election of the President or the requirement of residence within the district of expectant congressmen.

Most important of all, the decisions of the Supreme Court have, from the beginning, amended the original meaning of the Constitution. The very doctrine of judicial review, as enunciated by Chief Justice John Marshall in *Marbury v. Madison*, is a syllogism of judicial logic, not a formula of constitutional government. The original balance of power between the states and the federal government, so ably argued as being on the side of the states by Hamilton in number 45 of the "Federalist" papers, was more visibly shifted by the opinions of Chief Justice Marshall during his long tenure than by Hamilton and his nationalist successors in executive office. The

swings of judicial opinion concerning the meaning and application of the "due process" clauses of the Constitution have been the most impulsive—although in a negative direction—ingredient of policy, national and state, since the Civil War.

Here, then, is a Constitution, the components of which are not alone the written words of the original Constitution and its formal amendments, but also the concepts, expedients, and programs of people, legislatures, and courts. And the greatest of these—in terms of ultimate power, as to the content and operation of the living Constitution—is the courts.

This vibrant, if somewhat nebulous, structure of our present Constitution, in which the stresses between increment and attrition are everywhere evident, can be put to many uses. Originally it was viewed by its architects, and treated by them, as an "instrument" for the achievement of explicit ends. With the incrustations of antiquity and authority, it has for many become a "symbol"—conveniently malleable to ends not always explicit, whose achievement when cloaked in the guise of constitutional piety is screened from rigorous scrutiny.

What were those original ends for the achievement of which the Constitution was designed? The instrumentalist purpose of the framers was, in the words of Professor Edwin S. Corwin, "the creation of a strong, effective national government." Hamilton spoke of the Constitution as "an experiment." Gouverneur Morris recognized the instrumental character of the Constitution, when he said its value would "depend on how it is construed." The Constitution as an instrument was "the work of a limited class, comprising those whose 'interests and outlook,' as Woodrow Wilson put it, 'transcended state lines.'" That class wanted a strong federal government to curb the sectionalism within and between the states. Its members aimed to create an effective federal government to project and fulfill the "manifest destiny" of continental ex-



pansion which the more prophetic among them realized demanded adequate political planning of its course. The inclusions and exclusions in the original document, and its interpretation during the first four decades at least, were the self-conscious reflection of the interests and outlook of men who thought in national terms.

As Professor Corwin has brilliantly pointed out, the instinct of symbolism, long innate in man's search for security, found concrete expression at its birth. The Ninth Amendment enshrined the doctrine of "natural rights," personality and individuality, and even the existence of community. As Daniel Webster later put it, "Written constitutions sanctify and confirm great principles, but the latter are prior in existence to the former."

Moreover, it is significant that this view of the Constitution as a symbol was, as Professor Corwin notes, "a creation of the mass mind. . . . The popular need for a symbol," indeed, attributed to it a virtue and efficacy beyond any "experimental" view of its utility as an instrument. Eleven years before it was framed Thomas Paine recommended a "charter" for the very purpose of showing "the world . . . that so far we approve monarchy that in America law is King." The expanding population and rapidly growing economy of the country were for many symbolic of the "most wonderful instrument ever drawn by the hand of man," as Justice William Johnson wrote of it in 1832. In 1794 Richard Bland Lee could say to his fellow congressmen, "I will only mention the stimulus which agriculture has received. In travelling through various parts of the United States, I find fields a few years ago waste and uncultivated filled with inhabitants and covered with harvests, new habitations reared, contentment in every face, plenty on every board; confidence is restored and every man is safe under his own vine and fig tree, and there is none to make him afraid. To produce this effect was the intent of the Constitution, and it has succeeded."

#### THE CONSTITUTION AS "INSTRUMENT" OR "SYMBOL"—THE PRACTICE

It is the crossing of these two strains in our later history, and especially the increasing tendency of the Supreme Court to adopt the symbolic rather than the instrumentalist view of the Constitution, that underlies the present issue. The evolution of opinion within the court—never, of course, without significant exceptions among the individual justices and sometimes abandoned by the court as to special situations, for instance, the relation of the police power to planning and zoning—is significant for the future.

It is in the domain of fact rather than in the arena of legal argument that an explanation of the court's increasing adherence to the symbolic conception of the Constitution is to be sought. The social and economic evolution of the country from an Atlantic fringe of states predominantly agricultural and rural in complexion has been startling. In a century and a half we have become a continental empire increasingly industrial and urban in character—in which the divorce of financial control from active management is the predominant pattern. From a complex of almost self-contained communities we have become a unity in which the effects of local action have nation-wide and even international repercussions. It is commonplace of everyday life which we recognize only dimly, because it is the essence of our existence as individuals and as groups.

What the framers envisaged has become the order of the day. If natural forces like floods and droughts and epidemics are no respecters of state boundaries, it is not less true that transportation, the production and distribution of power, the conditions of labor and the organization of capital are continental, not local or even sectional, in their manifestations. Technology has freed industry from its earlier static development. It has become as mobile as the requirements of proximity to raw materials or the ease of transportation demand. But

it has become mobile in social as well as technological terms. The quality of the regulatory principles and practices of the various states has become a major consideration in the strategy of Big Business. Corporations leave home to organize in states where restrictions on capital management or taxation are light. Industries settle where labor laws are lenient. The very federal structure of our political system, which in a more segregated economy corresponded to the framework and the needs of national life, today hardly corresponds with its activities.

Across this changing pattern of the social and economic life of the country the Supreme Court has woven the doctrines of constitutionality which have governed its legal and, to a very real degree, its practical structure. Where legislative policy has sought to control or direct the process of expansion within the nation or the state, the court has had the final word. And as the court has accepted the popular conception of the Constitution as a symbol it has in fact converted the Constitution again into an instrument—not of the general welfare but of the special interests which have stood to gain from a static theory of its nature. In an earlier period it was the minority interest of the slaveholders which found protection in the constitutional doctrines of Roger B. Taney and his colleagues; since the Civil War another minority interest, that of Big Business, has been the beneficiary of similar doctrines.

What Professor Corwin has called "constitutional negativism," the view of the Constitution as "a closed, a completed system," was derived, no doubt, from the general attitude well expressed by Governor Landon that "the Constitution was not framed to give us anything, but to protect inherent rights already possessed." But that view of the Constitution has served the interest of Big Business in limiting the range and degree of state or national regulation of financial organization, of competitive practices, of the conditions of labor, and of

the rights of workingmen to use the same weapons of organization and bargaining (coercion?) as were allowed their employers.

These limitations have been derived from—or read into—the Constitution as a result of the views held by the Supreme Court on two of its aspects. One is the nature of government, the other the rights of man as embodied in the Bill of Rights (and the Supreme Court's interpretation of the meaning of the words in which they were expressed). As to the first, the court has abandoned the earlier view of Chief Justice Marshall and his colleagues that the powers of the national government were to be construed as commensurate with its functions. It was a doctrine out of which grew the wide range of "implied," "resultant," and "inherent" powers which they found deducible from the Constitution. As a result, and especially since the Civil War, in the words of Irving Brant, "the United States shifted from a Constitution of *implied powers* under the express powers [of Congress] to a Constitution of *implied limitations* on the express powers. It was virtually the same thing as writing a new, and infinitely narrower, Constitution." As Professor Corwin has remarked, "that is the same thing as permitting the Court to do this."<sup>1</sup>

As to the second, it has been again since the Civil War, and especially with respect to the powers of the state to regulate economic and social conditions within their borders,

<sup>1</sup> Professor Corwin's description of the evolution of interpretation is as follows:

"Considered, in short, from the point of view of the national legislative power, especially in the important field of taxation and interstate commerce regulation, the Constitution has passed through the following phases: from (1) an instrument of national government, a source of national power, to (2) an object of popular worship, finally valued chiefly for the obstacles it interposed to the national power, to (3) a protection of certain minority interests seeking escape from national power; or, in other words, from constitutional instrument to constitutional fetish, to constitutional tabu, to constitutional instrument again, albeit the *negative* instrument of certain special interests, not the *positive* instrument of a government of the people," *The Constitution as Instrument and as Symbol*, pp. 1071, 1082.

that the court has adopted "constitutional negativism" as the litmus paper of interpretation.

No doubt the Supreme Court has reflected in part the popular attitude, an attitude which corresponded with the dominant drives of national activity during the period of an expanding economy largely inspired by individualism and laissez faire; but it neglected elements of a long range statesmanship designed to meet needs such as conservation of natural resources for future generations or national planning for the general welfare. Moreover, in a period like the present, when programs to implement these new objectives have become the outlines of a national purpose ratified by popular decision in recurrent elections since Theodore Roosevelt's, the reiteration of older theories of the Constitution inevitably create tensions within the state. The political function of the Supreme Court stands out in sharp relief. To consider only congressional acts, the court held only two unconstitutional before 1865. Between 1920 and 1932 inclusive, twenty-two were declared unconstitutional, while in the three years, 1934-1936, thirteen were voted unconstitutional by the court.

It is this tension which explains the President's immediate proposal; but there are more fundamental reasons for recognizing its existence. As has been pointed out, the phraseology of the Constitution, from which the doctrines outlined above have been derived, is broad enough to allow what seem to be almost diametrically opposed opinions to be held about their meaning. Professor Powell has pointed out that "the Supreme Court can hardly be said to be controlled by the Constitution because so seldom does the Constitution clearly dictate a decision." As the present Chief Justice put it in lectures delivered a decade ago, before he was reappointed to the court, "the Constitution is what the judges say it is." While the Constitution may not be "The Supreme Court's last [sic] guess," as someone has suggested, it is certainly a flexible tool in the hands of

the justices. It becomes, therefore, important to appraise the nature of their task, and how they perform it. If the Constitution is neither immutable in its functions, nor explicit in its imperatives, the way in which it is viewed, as instrument or symbol, will determine its effect upon our life as individuals and as a community. What, then, is the function of the Supreme Court in interpreting the Constitution, and how does it fulfill it?

#### THE NATURE OF THE JUDICIAL PROCESS

It would be interesting to review the historical evidence for and against the view that the doctrine of judicial review was implicitly accepted by the framers; but it is unnecessary. That it was known and accepted by some of them is unquestionable; that it was disapproved by others is equally so. It is also clear that none envisaged its present scope or the influence which the judges today wield over the fate of policy as enacted into law. Proposals for a council of revision, a device later abandoned in the state governments of Pennsylvania and Vermont, to be composed of the President and "a convenient number of justices" were defeated in the Constitutional Convention. Explicit suggestions for judicial review were pigeonholed. Yet the results in a century and a third of the court's activity outrun any of the ideas as to its purpose or extent expressed by any of the framers.

It has already been suggested that, in reviewing the constitutionality of legislation, the court exercises in effect a political function. It has been recognized by conservative supporters as well as liberal critics of the court. For instance, James M. Beck (*The Constitution of the United States*, 1924, p. 221) describes this aspect of the court's work in the following words, "Thus the Supreme Court is not only a court of justice, but in a qualified sense a *continuous constitutional convention*. It continues the work of the convention of 1787 by adapting through interpretation the great charter of



government, and thus its duties become political, in the highest sense of the word, as well as judicial."

Against this view of the court's function—and its exercise—stands the traditional theory of judicial impartiality. As Professor Corwin has put it, "if judicial review has conserved the Constitutional Symbol, the Constitutional Symbol has conserved judicial review, by screening its operations behind the impersonal mask of the unbiased past. Even today, the notion of the judicial mouthpiece of a self-interpreting, self-enforcing law has its adherents." That notion, inherited from theories of the nature and sources of the law widely held in the middle of the nineteenth century, does not however conform to the realities of the court's function in a period of change. It becomes anachronistic when viewed in the light of the court's actual practice or in the perspective of the nature of the judicial process as understood by the justices themselves. A review of the cases in any of the controversial fields would illustrate the truth of Mr Beck's dictum as to the function of the court. No one who explores the court's views on "public purpose" with respect to taxation, national power (and its limitations) in the field of interstate commerce (and the fluctuating line drawn by the court between interstate and intrastate commerce), or the nature and extent of "due process" in the fields of labor legislation, corporate regulation, or social security, will discover continuity of doctrine or judicial impersonality. To take but a single example of seventeen justices who participated in three decisions relating to minimum wage legislation between 1917 and 1936, ten were found by Irving Dilliard ("Supreme Court Majority?" *Harpers Magazine*, November, 1936) to have been in favor of the principle, although two of the laws (one a national, the other a state) were declared unconstitutional, and the third upheld by an evenly divided court. Similar analysis of other fields of legislative policy would show the same division of opinion in the construction

of the Constitution as applied to concrete situations.

Also the more self-conscious judges do not view the nature and evidence of the judicial process as removed from the arena of conflicting claims in the real world of a competitive society, where interests clash over policy. They have developed the principle of "judicial self-limitation"—the principle that in the clash of interests the judge's function is to allow policy to be determined by the legislative as the mirror of the popular will. Classic expression of this doctrine was given over a quarter century ago by Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes in his dissent in *Lochner v. New York* (198 U. S. 45, 75-76) concerning the constitutionality of an eight-hour law for bakeshop workers. "This case is decided upon an economic theory which a large part of the country does not entertain. If it were a question whether I agreed with that theory, I should desire to study it further and long before making up my mind. But I do not conceive that to be my duty, because I strongly believe that my agreement or disagreement has nothing to do with the right of a majority to embody their opinions in law. . . . Some laws embody convictions or prejudices which judges are likely to share. Some may not. But a constitution is not intended to embody a particular economic theory. . . . It is made for people of fundamentally differing views, and the accident of our finding certain opinions natural and familiar or novel and even shocking ought not to conclude our judgment upon the question whether statutes embodying them conflict with the Constitution of the United States."

More recently Justice Harlan F. Stone in his dissent in the AAA case (*U.S. v. Butler*, 297 U.S. 1) reaffirmed the principle. "The power of courts to declare a statute unconstitutional is subject to two guiding principles of decision which ought never to be absent from judicial consciousness. One is that courts are concerned only with the power to enact statutes, not with



their wisdom. The other is that while unconstitutional exercise of power by the executive and legislative branches of the government is subject to judicial restraint, the only check upon our own exercise of power is our own sense of self-restraint. For the removal of unwise laws from the statute books appeal lies not to the courts but to the ballot and to the processes of democratic government."

Nevertheless, this strain of judicial opinion, this view of the Constitution as an instrument for achieving the general welfare as articulated in legislation passed by the people's representatives, rather than as a symbol and a system of inherited rights, has not been dominant in the court. Nor has the acquaintance of the court at first hand with the problems giving rise to legislation been evident in the opinions written in the areas of controversy during the past two decades by many of its members. The tension between conflicting views of policy has, as has been shown, steadily increased.

One reason may very well be the divergence between the context of ideas and practices with which the judges are familiar and that which is reflected in contemporary legislative policy. For in the age-factor of judges, as of all men, there lurks the latent possibility of becoming out of touch with the world of events in which legislative policy is forged. Where the principle of judicial self-limitation is not observed, where the doctrines of individual judges as to the validity of a given policy are, perhaps unconsciously, substituted for those of the legislature, the chance for discrepancy between judicial and legislative opinion is clearly enhanced. The "lag" between the education of legislators and their contact with the clash of interests in the field of policy, and the education and contact of judges, sometimes as much as a generation older, has frequently been pointed out. A. V. Dicey, for instance, noted it with respect to married women's property law in England (*Lectures on the Relation between Law and Public Opinion in England*,

London: Macmillan, 1905, Lecture xi).

It is this idea of the relativity of opinion to experience which underlies the President's proposal. As to whether seventy is the correct age, there may be disagreement; but as to the general purpose to make the court recurrently susceptible to the refreshing inoculation of more recent contact with the actualities of the clash of interests around which legal battle is waged there can be no logical dissent. At least, no logical dissent except from those whose interests coincide with a perpetuation of the symbolic interpretation of the Constitution. Many older judges have been among the most conspicuous instrumentalists, and the most persuasive proponents of judicial self-limitation; but the present divergence between the Supreme Court's and Congress' view of policy suggests that some reconsideration of the present balance of power in the court is essential to the effective expression of the popular will in action.

The nature of the court's function as a co-ordinate political agency of the state has been, as has been indicated, obscured on the one hand by the theory of the impersonality of the law and on the other by the antiquity of the operation of judicial review. The efforts of a continuing minority of the court to reconcile power with actual impartiality, through the doctrine of self-limitation, has proved ineffective to meliorate the growing tension between the symbolic and the instrumentalist views of the Constitution in a changing socio-economic pattern. What alternatives to the present proposal to add new men—in the hope of adding more realistic ideas to the armory of the court—are available?

#### ALTERNATIVES AND A QUERY

AT the outset it may be noted that any other proposal would probably require an amendment. Of the alternatives so far suggested none is attainable without going through the cumbersome procedure that the Constitution prescribes.

The alternatives fall into two main groups. One would modify the process of judicial review by requiring a majority of, say, seven to two, to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional; or introduce a retiring age of, say, seventy-five as Senator Burke proposes; or give to Congress an overriding power as to the adverse court decisions by an extraordinary majority of, say, two-thirds, as Senator Wheeler and Senator Bone propose. Of these the last is by far the most effective; but any of them involves a much greater overturn of existing constitutional understandings than the President's proposal.

The other group of proposals is directed to modifying the Constitution itself to bring it into closer harmony with current conceptions of its instrumental purpose. One, proposed by Senator Borah, seeks to give state legislation immunity from the court's present interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment—illustrated by the five to four decision last year holding the New York minimum wage law unconstitutional—by restricting its applications to the procedural but not to the substantive aspects of state laws. Yet clearly this would not reach the vast area of controversy over the nature and extent of national power. A second suggestion seeks to remedy that deficiency by conferring specific power on the national government to legislate regarding agriculture, industry, and labor; but this proposal suffers from the possibility of rigidity. Not only does it leave to the court the construction of the meaning and scope of the words included in the amendment, but it provides little assurance that with the changing conditions of the future the very words may not be interpreted as limitations on, not grants of, power; that the amendment will receive a symbolic and not an instrumentalist gloss. Finally there is Mr Walter Lippmann's unique proposal for the interstitial amendment of the Constitution, through an expedited procedure, each time a particular issue over the exercise of national power arises.

These proposals all suffer from a practical, if not from a logical, defect—the procedure of amendment itself.

When viewed in the perspective of the alternatives to this proposal the President's plan does less to change the fundamental principle of judicial review than any of them. No doubt he hopes his appointees will reflect the conceptions he holds of national policy and of the efficacy of the Constitution to achieve them. It is not less clear that he is willing to trust the capacity of the Supreme Court to "correct its own errors" and thus bring the Constitution, through the very process of judicial review, as Professor Corwin puts it, "into harmony with the needs of the times . . . [by regarding it] as the instrument of a people's government and of a unified nation which has not yet lost its faith in its political destiny."

The President's proposal is, in effect, the least revolutionary of the current proposals for "experiment." Is it not indeed indication of a candid reliance by its author on the ability of the Supreme Court to apply the principle of judicial self-limitation? Is it not an "experiment," in the tradition of the framers, in bringing the Constitution, the Supreme Court, and the people again into co-operative agreement for the general welfare?

#### A NOTE ON BIBLIOGRAPHY

My obligation to Professor Edward S. Corwin of Princeton University is evident. See his "President and Court: A Crucial Issue," *New York Times Magazine*, February 14, 1937, "The Constitution as Instrument and Symbol," *American Political Science Review*, December, 1936, *The Twilight of the Supreme Court*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1934, and *Commerce Power versus States Rights*, Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1936. All the quotations are from the first two. See also T. S. Harding, "The Myth of Constitutional Absolutism," *Journal of Social Philosophy*, October, 1936; H. E. Willis, "Historical Myth and Constitutional Absolutism," *ibid.*, January, 1937; "Power of Congress to Nullify Supreme Court Decisions" (for bibliography), *The Reference Shelf*, Vol. II, no. 8, 1924; "Limitation of Power of Supreme Court to Declare Acts of Congress Unconstitutional" (for bibliography), *ibid.* Vol. X, no. 6, 1935; "Congress or Supreme Court—Which Shall Rule America?" *University Debaters Help Book*, Vol. II, 1935.

# Making Economics Real

A. W. TROELSTRUP

TEACHERS of elementary economics interested in making their courses realistic and functional ought to read again Henry Johnson's *Teaching of History in Elementary and Secondary Schools* (New York: Macmillan, 1915). Back in 1915 Professor Johnson pointed out the need for "making the past real"—a cry in the wilderness even today. He said the "most effective appeal to the sense of reality is, of course, through reality itself." This appeal may be made, he continues, by using the experiences of the students, local history, and local human experiences and interests, and by gradually leading outward to larger areas further removed from the pupil's experience. Anything, he says, that can be observed directly or be presented to form direct imagery is possible material for any type of instruction.

Yet too many teachers are only just beginning to realize the wisdom in this book. Unfortunately many experienced teachers of elementary economics will have to agree

with Mr W. G. Kimmel, who on the basis of classroom visits reported that "for most pupils theory becomes a series of verbalisms and a system of dialectics presented in a more or less didactic manner."<sup>1</sup> Most textbooks and courses of study in elementary economics still follow the old classical categories. The points at which adolescents actually touch economic life are more or less obscured in theory. Moreover whole areas within the experience of students are largely ignored. A number of years ago Lena C. Van Bibber compiled for the American Historical Association a long list of specific social-science topics classed as difficult to teach by hundreds of leading high-school teachers.<sup>2</sup> The chief difficulties in teaching the economic topics were the vague, abstract nature of the problems and the lack of library material.

In the past too little attention has been given to the use of existing local aids,<sup>3</sup> whereas, although the local approach will not solve all difficulties in teaching certain economic topics, it may be used satisfactorily as a springboard from which to dive into the larger aspects of each problem. The per-

Do teachers who ignore the possibilities for using local history and association miss an important means of making their courses interesting and successful? A teacher in the Township High School, Hinsdale, Illinois, here discusses his experience in using this approach in teaching economics but teachers of other social studies can easily adapt this experience to their own problem.

<sup>1</sup> "A Realistic Approach to Instruction in the Social Studies," President's address, *Proceedings of the Middle States Association of History Teachers*, no. 33, 1935, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> "An Exploratory Study of Specific Classroom Difficulties in the Teaching of History and other Social Studies," *Second Yearbook*. National Council for the Social Studies. Philadelphia: McKinley, 1932.

<sup>3</sup> As is shown, for instance, in the study of "Procedures Used in the Teaching of Certain Difficult Topics," made by John Perry Pritchett for the American Historical Association in its investigation of the social studies in the schools.



sonal interest in local history, its richness of detail and its unmistakable real-life character, gives students the opportunity to extend the book world into the real world, without which instruction in the social sciences is almost futile. As a matter of fact most instruction in social science fails because pupils do not see the relation of ideas or experiences recounted in class to anything they themselves encounter in real life. Illustrations from local history and experience are especially to be considered because (1) local history seems closer to the student, since he knows the places involved, and, even more, since some of his relatives may have participated; (2) the local community probably has material in abundance, easily available for students; (3) even should pupils start on a complex topic like the tariff, they will in the course of effort encounter illustrations of the unitary ideas by which they learn more precisely; (4) pupils will be tracing larger ideas, which ordinarily seem mere book notions to them, into the realm of minor details, such as they recognize to be practical details of every-day life.

**T**O illustrate concretely some of the possibilities in the use of local history and pupil-parent experience in the teaching of high-school economics, let us take a topic like the tariff. The Van Bibber exploratory study<sup>4</sup> disclosed several important causes underlying the difficulties in teaching secondary students about the tariff. Prominent among these causes were inadequate textbooks, abstract textbooks, complexity of topic, insufficient time, weak background, and immaturity of students. Yet in most communities there exists material suitable for illustrating the purpose and results of the tariff.

In a typical mid-western town with fewer than two thousand inhabitants, the writer found that the community depended to a large extent on a good price for the sale

of potatoes and the potato starch produced in the local factory.<sup>5</sup> In opening up the topic, the local weekly newspaper reports on the price of potatoes were written on the blackboard. This led to informal discussion of local experiences. A few of the remarks were also summarized on the blackboard. "We had to dig our spuds regardless of price, because we had signed a delivery contract with the Minnesota Potato Growers' Association at the prevailing price at the time of delivery." Another pupil said, "I hauled two truckloads of potatoes to the starch factory, and we received a check for less than half as much as we received for the same amount last year." Still another remark was, "Why was it that two years ago we received more money for our spuds, although we had fewer of them?" Another student confided that the local farmers had sent a local judge to interview the tariff commission concerning the low import duty on potato starch. Then followed questions like these. "What has this commission to do with the price of potatoes here?" "What is an import duty?"

It was evident that they knew little about the fundamentals of the tariff. Fortunately a direct emotional response was present. Here was a point of departure for a broader study of the topic later on. Meantime the class decided to send a committee to interview the local judge who had taken up the matter with the tariff commission. A report was made to the class, and several statistical summaries were placed on the blackboard: of cost to supply foreign potato starch, varying percentages of tariffs, and resulting prices of foreign potato starch, corresponding cost to supply local potato starch, tariffs, and selling prices of local potato starch.

Since the tariff on potato starch was slightly under 10 per cent at the time of the investigation, the statistical summaries seemed to them to indicate that a higher tariff was necessary in order to compete with

<sup>4</sup>P. 34.

<sup>5</sup>A. W. Troelstrup, "The Cambridge School Museum," *Minnesota History; a Quarterly*, June, 1929.



foreign imports. They found that a 20 per cent duty would help but that a 30 per cent or, better yet, a 40 per cent duty would give the local growers and producers what seemed a fair return on their investment. At the moment they were satisfied in believing that the tariff problems had been solved, providing Congress would agree to increase the rates to 40 per cent.

**R**IGHT here developed the real danger in using the local approach and experience. Appeals to reality within the community must be supplemented by appeals to reality beyond the community. In order to do that pupils must be led to consider larger areas and phases. Hence it was necessary to continue the investigation. The extent of the "leading outward" into more remote and complex phases of the tariff may be seen from the list of tentative conclusions drawn up by the class, after their study of the tariff was completed. (1) Tariff rate making is complex and needs the help of experts. (2) Tariff changes are made largely by special-interest groups like our own potato growers and producers and to that extent the process is government by pressure groups. (3) Until most of the important nations can agree on definite international trade principles that will lead to a genuine world trade, the local potato producers will continue to work for protection to enable them to maintain a decent standard of living. (4) When self-interest is involved, it is easy to confuse the interests of the few and the interests of society in general. (5) It is possible to make tariff rates so high that the federal government will receive little or no revenue and must therefore tax citizens directly. (6) The consumer pays the tax ultimately, thus

lowering the standard of living among the lower income groups. (7) Trade benefits all parties. (8) If we desire to sell abroad, we must be willing to buy as much from foreigners or extend credit or make direct loans to them. (9) Science, mass production, travel, war, national pride are all helping to make the problem of the tariff hard to solve.

**A**CTUALLY the possibilities of using local history and community associations in teaching elementary economics are unlimited. For example, in this same community, the welfare of the merchants, banks, garages, and even the teacher himself is directly dependent upon the potato industry. The study of economics could well begin with the potato growing group, the conditions of planting and harvesting the crop, the expense of transportation of the crops to market, and the money it brings. It might continue by discussing bank notes, why they are more easily paid in good years and must be extended in bad years, unless property is to be mortgaged. The principles of banking, credit, the workings of the federal reserve system can all be traced through the local situation and extended into the national and even international field. From the producers the study can be passed on to the dealers in potatoes and potato by-products, the conditions of buying, selling, and storing, finally branching out into the wider areas. Then it can follow the product into the local factory with its problems of wages, machinery, shares, dividends, and output. The element of investment, speculation, profits, standard of living, labor unions, middlemen, and vocational angles are all possible teaching topics.

# Recent Trends in Social-Studies Tests

J. WAYNE WRIGHTSTONE

## EVOLUTION OF SOCIAL-STUDIES TESTS

THE oral quiz and the written essay examination are probably the oldest means used in testing a student's information and knowledge in the social studies. These forms of examination are by no means completely outmoded, and they serve some very important and unsupplanted functions, even in present-day modern testing practices. The new-type objective tests, using the true-false, the multiple choice, the matching, and the completion items, have tended to displace the older and more subjective forms of evaluation.<sup>1</sup> These new-type objective tests have enjoyed a very wide and increasing growth, particularly among teachers of the social studies, for two reasons: first, if testing time is equal, they permit a much wider sampling of the student's acquaintance with items of

<sup>1</sup> R. M. Tryon, "Standard and New Type Tests in the Social Studies," *Historical Outlook*, April, 1927.

The rapid development of tests and testing techniques has emphasized the fact that most of us are helpless amateurs in the field. We hope that this survey of recent activity may be followed by some explanation of difficulties and procedures. The author is research associate in the School of Experimentation at Teachers College, Columbia University, and consultant for the current Regents Inquiry in New York and for the CCC Study of the American Youth Commission.

information that have been studied and, second, besides being much easier to score, the scores are more reliable than for the usual essay examination written in an equal allotment of time.

An analysis of early objective tests in the social studies, which were constructed beginning about 1920 by A. S. Barr, Tyler Kepner, and C. A. Gregory, indicates that for the most part their items relate to recognition and recall of dates, names, and events of historical importance. Within comparatively recent years objective tests for social attitudes appeared. Authors of the earliest of these include Goodwin B. Watson,<sup>2</sup> George B. Newmann,<sup>3</sup> L. L. Thurstone,<sup>4</sup> and more recently Rensis Likert<sup>5</sup> and Hermann H. Remmers.<sup>6</sup>

Even though the early attempts to develop new-type objective tests were considered as a distinct improvement over the more subjective traditional examinations, Howard R. Anderson and E. F. Lindquist have improved and refined the techniques of testing historical information and concepts in their Coöperative History Test Series.<sup>7</sup> In the National Council for the

<sup>2</sup> *Watson Test of Public Opinion*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia Univ.

<sup>3</sup> *Test of International Understanding*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia Univ.

<sup>4</sup> L. L. Thurstone, and E. J. Chave, *The Measurement of Attitude*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1929.

<sup>5</sup> *A Technique for the Measurement of Attitudes*, Archives of Psychology, No. 140. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1932.

<sup>6</sup> *Studies in Attitudes*. Lafayette, Indiana: Division of Educational Reference, Purdue University.

<sup>7</sup> Published by Coöperative Test Service, 500 West 116th Street, New York City.

Social Studies Publications, Alice N. Gibbons edited a volume<sup>8</sup> that contributed, among others, a test on working skills in the social studies, which represented a pioneer contribution to the measurement of social-studies instruction. More recently the *Iowa Every-Pupil Test of Basic Study Skills*<sup>9</sup> developed a new area by testing certain aspects of the social studies, especially the acquiring of information from charts, maps, and selected reference sources. The tests which were constructed in the recently completed study of the American Historical Association<sup>10</sup> marked distinct advances with regard to tests of social-studies concepts by Edgar B. Wesley, Luella C. Pressey, Mary G. Kelty, and Nelle E. Moore; of geographical knowledge and skills by Edith Putnam Parker and R. D. Calkins; of use of historical evidence by Marion Clark; and of the development of interesting ideas in the measurement of certain character traits by word association tests by T. L. Kelley and M. R. Trabue.

#### TESTS OF INFORMATION

**D**URING recent years E. F. Lindquist and H. R. Anderson have incorporated some new ideas in the Coöperative History Test Series by introducing some interesting adaptations to the usual information tests. Section A of the test, for example, deals with information about historical personages and uses a matching item technique. In a lefthand column are five names of historical personages and in a righthand column are only three phrases or sentences with which a name or person is to be matched. The fact that five terms are used in the one column and three statements in a corresponding column reduces

materially the chances for a pupil to guess or to infer, by elimination of other items, the correct person to be associated with a corresponding descriptive phrase. The authors have introduced the principle of an unequal number of statements or terms to be matched. They have kept the grouping small enough to be seen and read easily rather than seeking to match items in long lists, difficult to read. Classroom teachers who devise their own tests might use this principle of test construction as a basis for improving their exercises.

Section B of the test deals with historical terms and uses exactly the same matching techniques of item construction. Section C on geographical terms follows a like pattern. In another section historical dates and events are tested not by asking the pupil a specific date but by listing important events that mark a definite and correct time sequence. This may be illustrated as follows:

(1)	Discovery of America	
(2)	Founding of Jamestown	1. John Cabot's Voyage (2)
(3)	Revolutionary War	2. Louisiana Purchase (4)
(4)	Civil War	3. Boston Tea Party (3)
(5)		

In the righthand column are three events to be identified in terms of whether they occurred between the discovery of America and the founding of Jamestown, which is time interval (2), or before the discovery of America, which is time interval (1), and so on. John Cabot's voyage occurred in time interval (2), so the number (2) is placed in the parentheses following that item. Another section, which deals with historical judgment, uses the multiple item technique with four items following a phrase or statement. Only one item of these is the best or right answer.

#### TESTS OF ATTITUDE

**F**OLLOWING the technique used by L. L. Thurstone, H. H. Remmers has collaborated with others to produce some

<sup>8</sup>No. 3, *Tests in the Social Studies*. Philadelphia: McKinley, 1929.

<sup>9</sup>J. L. Rogers and others, *Iowa Every-Pupil Tests of Basic Skills: Test B. Vocabulary and Study Skills*. Iowa City: Univ. of Iowa.

<sup>10</sup>T. L. Kelley and A. C. Krey, *Tests and Measurements in the Social Sciences*. Report of the Commission on the Social Studies, American Historical Association. New York: Scribner, 1934.



generalized scales of attitudes. These scales have, on the lefthand side of the page, four or five columns. At the top of each may be written the objects, persons, ideas, or phenomena toward which an attitude is to be measured. The person to be tested is asked to check the series of statements, which has been assigned values by judges showing the relative degree of intensity of attitude. The scale for measuring attitudes toward institutions, for example, has such statements as: "Is perfect in every way"; "Serves society as a whole"; "Is entirely unnecessary"; and "Does more harm than good." Each statement has a numerical weight somewhere between 0 and 12. The pupil checks each statement with which he agrees, and his score is the median, or average, value of the items that he has checked. This series of statements usually numbers about forty-five items for each test.

Using a different technique, J. Wayne Wrightstone has constructed a generalized measure of social attitudes toward racial, national, and international ideas and phenomena. This *Scale of Civic Beliefs*<sup>11</sup> consists of such statements as "The Japanese are a sly and crafty race" and "Labor unions have accomplished much good." The pupil agrees, disagrees, or is undecided in his response to each item. The scale is published in Forms A and B with parallel items in each form, thus allowing a measure of consistency of attitude of the individual by a comparison of item responses on Form A and Form B.

#### TESTS OF SKILLS

THE two most recent tests in the field of study skills as applied to the social studies are the *Iowa Every-Pupil Test of Basic Study Skills* for grades 6, 7, and 8 and Part I of the *Cooperative Test of Social Studies Abilities*<sup>12</sup> for high-school pupils. In the

<sup>11</sup> Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World Book Company, in press.

<sup>12</sup> 500 West 116th Street, New York City: Cooperative Test Service.

*Iowa Every-Pupil Test of Basic Study Skills* pupils are asked to obtain data from charts, graphs, tables, maps, and to indicate their ability to use the dictionary, index, and certain common reference books. In the high-school test pupils are asked to obtain data from all types of graphs, to read a map, to use the index of a book, to find a book in the library under one of the major headings of Dewey library classification system, and to indicate sources to which they would turn for information on a variety of social-studies topics.

#### TESTS OF CRITICAL THINKING

THE field of critical thinking in the social studies has usually been tested by essay examinations. In the *Cooperative Test of Social Studies Abilities* an attempt is made in Parts II, III, and IV to test the ability of high-school pupils, first, to organize information, second, to make generalizations, inferences, or conclusions from data that are definitely given in a paragraph, table, or graph, and third, to apply selected generalizations in the social studies to new or current events. The part of the test purporting to measure the ability of the pupil to organize information includes such exercises as separating relevant from irrelevant facts and organizing them under four stated topical headings, and outlining in a logical order some stated ideas or items. For interpreting facts and data, the paragraph, table, or chart containing them is followed by a series of inferences or generalizations. The pupil marks with a plus all inferences that are reasonable interpretations of the stated facts; he marks with a zero all inferences that go beyond the given facts. In applying generalizations to current events, an event is cited and followed by a series of generalizations and reasons why the generalizations apply. The pupil is to select and mark only those generalizations that apply to the event and the corresponding reasons why they apply. These aspects of testing critical thinking deal, therefore, with organization and in-



terpretation of facts or data and with the application of facts and principles to current social phenomena or situations.

#### TESTS OF PERSONALITY AND CHARACTER

DESPITE considerable activity in tests only slight advances have been made in the field of measuring personality and character since the Character Education Inquiry conducted by Hugh Hartshorne and Mark A. May. Recently, J. B. Maller has combined into a so-called *Case Inventory*<sup>13</sup> three or four measures similar in content and purpose to some of the tests used in the Character Education Inquiry to measure aspects of character. Harry J. Baker and Virginia Traphagen of the Detroit Public Schools have announced a *Detroit Scale of Behavior Factors*<sup>14</sup> used in diagnosing personality difficulties of children. Dorothy Van Alstyne and some teachers of Winnetka have announced the *Winnetka Scale for Rating Behavior and Attitudes*<sup>15</sup> for measuring such characteristics as leadership, co-operation, emotional security. Child development institutes have continued to use the "time sampling" or controlled observations techniques to measure such overt behavior as nervousness, laughter, leadership, fears, and social adaptability. Wrightstone<sup>16</sup> has used a similar technique for measuring through direct and controlled observations such values as initiative, co-operation, and responsibility. In addition he has supplemented these measures by an anecdotal record or cumulative pupil diary which can be rated to show the quality of defined acts of initiative, co-operation, and the like.

This summary of testing trends in character and personality is admittedly incomplete, but it does represent some of the

most recent instruments and techniques devised by workers in this field. These citations, although selected, are typical of instruments and trends, and they may be consulted with profit by anyone interested in the measurement of character and personality.

#### GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

THE older practices in instruction in the social studies placed stress on facts and information. When a pupil could recite from memory a large portion of the facts assigned to be learned, the advocates of those practices felt they were obtaining worthwhile results. The answers to a questionnaire sent out ten years ago by Worth James Osburn<sup>17</sup> to a large number of history teachers are good examples of the usual status of social-studies objectives. These replies were abstract, varied, and vague. Teachers answered that they were attempting to teach citizenship, patriotism, historical backgrounds, historical perspective, etc. Osburn asked each of the teachers to send him a copy of recent examinations which had been given to the pupils. These examinations measured, almost exclusively, the number of facts the children remembered. The teachers and test technicians were unable to obtain or to construct tests to measure other equally important objectives of social-studies instruction.

The *National Survey of Secondary Education Monograph* (no. 21, 1933), on instruction in the social studies, lists twenty-eight major objectives of the social studies. While some of these objectives are duplicates and some are decidedly too vague to be of much practical value, nevertheless, it is apparent that there are various objectives in the social studies for which no very adequate means of measurement have been devised. Recent trends indicate that we may expect to see more adequate tests developed during the next few years. Among these objectives the following

<sup>13</sup> New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia Univ.

<sup>14</sup> New York: Macmillan.

<sup>15</sup> Winnetka, Illinois: Winnetka Educational Press.

<sup>16</sup> J. W. Wrightstone, "Constructing an Observational Technique," *Teachers College Record*, October, 1935.

<sup>17</sup> *Are We Making Good at Teaching History?* Bloomington, Illinois: Public School Pub. Co., 1926.

have been chosen for special emphasis:

- (a) abilities involved in the application of selected work skills and tools in the social studies.
- (b) awareness of significant social trends and changes.
- (c) abilities involved in thinking objectively about and interpreting socio-economic data.
- (d) applying social, economic, and political generalizations to new situations.
- (e) attitudes toward ideas, persons, and social phenomena.
- (f) interests or patterns of interest in socio-economic problems.
- (g) personal and social adjustment to the environment.
- (h) social relationships such as co-operation, leadership, initiative.

At the present time at Ohio State University Ralph W. Tyler is directing a staff of technicians and teacher committees from thirty experimental high schools of the Commission on the Relations of School and College of the Progressive Education Association in attempts to construct some valid and reliable instruments for measuring certain objectives of the curriculum, including social studies. These should be followed with interest by social-studies teachers, as should the future social-studies tests of the Coöperative Test Service, for unless curriculum or instruction and evaluation or testing are co-ordinated, progress is retarded.

#### CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

RECENT curriculum changes and experimentation, especially in the social studies, have made apparent certain objectives in which it has not been possible to measure pupils' growth adequately by existing tests. For measuring partially some of the newer objectives in the social studies, new tests need to be constructed which will include all major objectives of education. Already there are recently constructed social-studies tests which indicate that some of the so-called "intangibles"—interests, attitudes, objective and critical thinking, and personal-social relationships—can be measured reliably and validly by means of new techniques and new tests. Many of these new instruments need to be refined and improved from present faults and crudities. Moreover evaluation must be an integral part of teaching; not only must it be carried on in terms of the major objectives, but it must be continuous, co-ordinated with the curriculum and the instructional process. The results of such a comprehensive concept of evaluation should tend to make for progress and advancement rather than for any harmful effects on the social-studies curriculum. A large and only slightly explored field of testing is open to imaginative, informed, and inventive teachers in improving and expanding old tests and in evolving others which conform with new social-studies practices in both elementary and secondary schools.

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# History in the New Social-Studies Curriculum

## The Viewpoint of the Superintendent

JULIUS E. WARREN

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It is a matter of record that the school superintendent of today is pledged to an educational program in which the social studies occupy the very heart of the curriculum. There is not one of us to be found who does not aim to help build within his school system, from the kindergarten to the last year of the junior college, a continuous and cumulative program to give the child, when he finishes his formal schooling, in the words of Henry Johnson, the historian-teacher of history teachers, "some vision of whence he came, whither he is going, and what he ought to do while he is going." In this phrase is certainly found an all too simple definition of the work, not only of the history teacher but of all workers in education. In the qualifying word "some" lies the great difficulty, for there is no question but that with all individuals the educative process results, in the course of a man's lifetime, in at least a slight vision and

understanding of the progress of mankind. The matter of the degree of advance is our primary concern, and particularly the application of the individual's vision and understanding to his way of planning and conducting his own life.

From earliest times to the present there has been controversy as to what constitutes desirable subject matter in history, some arguing for specialized segments such as ancient, medieval, modern, American, or present-day, some for the broad narrative sweeping story of civilization, some for the type of history that is selected because it is useful in business, in politics, in religion, or in fomenting nationalism, and some for history as a science in the sense that it seeks to know the truth. Because of the very nature of the social studies there must be that controversy. It seems most unlikely that there will ever be accepted universally that ideal plan, toward which many historians wistfully aspire, of a world history of the world for all children of the world, in which the facts are so selected and organized as to be equally suitable for presentation to children of appropriate intelligence everywhere.

Yet at least a step forward is evidenced in these United States, in which today the social studies are conceived as a continuous and cumulative unit, running basically and solidly through at least twelve years of public-school experience. That they are so conceived does not mean that they are so practised; but the work of these organizations meeting jointly here today, the commissions appointed in the field, the recent

School administrators ought to be educational statesmen. Sometimes they are. At the joint meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies and the American Historical Association at Providence, the superintendent of schools at Newton, Massachusetts, described himself as a "mere practising school administrator." His informal and sympathetic treatment of history and social studies will encourage other "mere" practitioners in the classroom as well as in school offices.



report of another Commission on Examinations in History of the College Entrance Board, the thousand school systems through the country in the process of building or installing new social-studies curriculums, and the development of vitalized and scientifically planned textbooks all indicate that the degree of vision, understanding, and better life-practice of the next generation will be advanced considerably over that of the present and past. If I do not believe this to be a statement of absolute fact my own life and yours as teachers cannot be at all justified. It must be true.

**S**UCH a point of view and such a plan is made possible only when we as teachers realistically face the child, who is to be taught in the various stages of his developing maturity, and select our content and modify our procedures in accordance with his nature and his needs.

This facing the child means not only that we know his ability and achievement as recorded in tests of achievement, ability to read, and mentality, his physical strength and handicaps as recorded in his physical records, but that we also know something of his interests and of the problems confronting him as he attempts to make an adjustment to his own world. The subject matter of any course of study is of value to the student only to the extent that it is meaningful for him. If the subject matter is beyond his understanding and entirely outside his own problems, he will find it difficult to catch up with it; if it is too simple, he loses interest; if it begins where he is, with his own questions, it is a means of helping him to a solution of the many baffling situations he faces. The child cannot begin where the teacher is in his thinking. The teacher must begin where the child is, and for each child the problem of social understanding is a different one from that of every other child. Only as the school, through the various sources available, seeks to know the individual it is attempting to teach, can it hope to build a

social-studies curriculum or any other curriculum to meet his needs. When subject matter ties up with his own needs and purposes, begins where he is, it may change his manner of thinking, his way of behaving, and so educate him. In William H. Kilpatrick's recent book *Remaking the Curriculum* (New York: Newson, 1936) we find this significant statement, "When, for example, a child learns to spell a word or perform an arithmetic operation for which he has no present use, learning simply because it has been assigned as a task, such items of learning necessarily lack proper meaning connections. It is also true that they lack the kind of interest which makes learning wholesome and promising. When, however, *under wise guidance* the child is pursuing with hearty purpose some worthy aim and endeavor of his own, there will necessarily arise occasions when he must seek knowledge and skill that he does not possess. The fact of seeking the knowledge with intelligent and zestful aim means that he thoughtfully studies an area and range of possibility, pertinent knowledge, rejecting and accepting as he studies, until he finds what he needs. Such studying, with both its rejecting and its accepting, builds for him new meaning connections within the area studied and tends toward making him more intelligent in that area."

**C**HILDREN are constantly questioning and seeking satisfying answers to their questions. The teacher who seeks to find out what these questions are and to build his curriculum with them in mind will find his teaching task a much more profitable one. An incident from the *Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 2 vols., 1931) will illustrate this point. In the year before entering a California university Lincoln Steffens was taught by an English tutor who believed in just such a philosophy as we have attempted to define. Together, he and Lincoln went in search of the many questions in which the boy was interested, questions

that came from astronomy, literature, society, history. As they talked, read, discussed, made excursions, thought together, the boy's horizon was broadened, his knowledge increased, and his interests widened, and his understanding deepened. Always as they worked together it was the boy and his problems that the teacher was interested in, where he was in his thinking, what would help him gain a better, clearer understanding of his problems, how could he be helped to look ahead, to take the next step, how could he, the teacher, help him to organize his knowledge and use it in the solution of new problems. It was with a real zest for new knowledge that Lincoln Steffens entered his freshman year of college, and with joyful prospects of finding answers to the new problems arising. To his great disappointment, however, he found when he entered the university that the professors had so many questions they wanted him to answer that he never had time to find the answers to his own. There was no time to explore, to think quietly, to discuss openly with a sympathetic and understanding friend those problems which troubled him and for which he must somehow find the answers.

Perhaps too often we find the case of Lincoln Steffens repeated in our school-rooms. An inflexible course of study, a regimented formal procedure beginning and ending with the textbook rather than with the child. We do not mean that the school should abandon the well thought out, systematically organized, course of study or the well written textbooks for a curriculum built around the changing and often superficial interests of the child. We do mean, however, that in whatever the school is attempting to teach, it must give first thought to the learner, what his background is, what he is thinking, how well and understandingly he can read and use books, how well he can see, in short, how far he can travel; and what the possibilities are of changing his way of thinking and his manner of behaving. In this sense the

teacher's chief responsibility becomes that of creating and maintaining the best environment in which his students may learn most effectively.

It is teachers with this type of understanding of children that school administration must find, train, and guide, if the study of history and the other social subjects is to perform the service that by its very nature it is best suited to give.

School administration must further provide the right environment, in which teachers can live and grow freely and fully. The ideal teacher and the perfect curriculum are not enough. The teacher whose best energies are spent in handling routine matters and a large amount of clerical work is not the teacher who can effectively guide pupils into a better understanding and appreciation of their fellow men. Classes must be kept at reasonable size, textbooks must be modern and up to date, library, magazines, and reference books must be authentic and numerous. Working supplies of all kinds must be adequate. The teacher still remains the most vital factor in the educative process. Within the limits imposed by the society of the community in which he works, let that teacher be a free agent who may work with other citizens and with his students towards the end that that community may increasingly be one in which real freedom exists.

Robert Livingston Schuyler writing in the *Columbia University Quarterly* says, "Educationally speaking historical method is probably more important than historical information. *How* the historically-minded student learns about the past is of greater educational value than *what* he learns about it" (June, 1935, p. 101). Some experience in historical method can be gained on all grade levels. Each year the student may grow in his ability to distinguish the comparative reliability of different kinds of sources, can become more alert in distinguishing between statements of carefully ascertained facts and statements of emo-

tionalized opinion. Professor Johnson shows how the first-grader can be led to see that something is learned about the Indians from an arrowhead or a piece of pottery dug up out of the ground, something from the writings of white men who reported what they saw and something from the stories and songs told and sung by the Indians themselves and reported and written up by white men. This initial experience in historical method is but the beginning of the growth in the use of the tools of history with which the student must become fairly expert as he reaches the upper levels of his formal schooling. The mastery of the techniques of reading, of study, of expressing ideas becomes the responsibility of the social-studies teacher as well as the teacher of language, reading, spelling, and composition.

In my part of the discussion I have not

specifically mentioned the activity program, the fused, parallel, or separate plans of organization, horizontal or vertical schemes of integration, the problem of how much we shall indoctrinate, academic freedom, teachers oaths, the discussion of controversial questions, the Red menace in school and college, and many other important and vital aspects of the program of history. I have not conceived that any of these weighty problems are in my province today. I have rather aimed to do two things: first, briefly to outline my social philosophy of education and its relationship to the teaching of history, and, second, to indicate that I believe great progress is being made. The disagreements of the Left and the Right are signs of definite normal health. We have far to go in our schools in the teaching of history, but we are definitely moving ahead.

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"The administration of education has become one of the most vital functions of modern society. This generalization applies with especial force to a country which from its very beginning has regarded popular education as one of the cornerstones of its social and political systems, and has accepted the ideal of equal educational opportunity for all from the primary school to the university. The vast system of schools that has been created in the United States touches every individual in his most formative years. Upwards of 30,000,000 children, youth, and adults are enrolled in the schools, while more than 1,000,000 teachers and other professional workers are required to staff them. What ideas shall direct, what forces control this agency that has become so important in molding the minds of Americans?"

"With control goes the power to determine in large measure the ideas and points of view that shall shape the curriculum. Schools may be administered in accordance with a considered educational and social philosophy that is conservative or liberal in outlook. Administration may be conceived as merely a problem in management; it may be opportunistic, drifting with the shifting tides of opinion, and yielding to active pressures. If a critical and constructive analysis of contemporary society and its problems is to be made in the school, an appropriate attitude in administration is required. If, on the other hand, unquestioning social conformity is sought, the method and spirit of administration will of necessity be different. All the techniques of modern psychology will be utilized to build social cohesion around a definite and predetermined group of social concepts. The range of choices between these extremes is great and constitutes a problem in social philosophy calling for knowledge both wide and deep. . . . Educational administration is, in the broadest sense, essentially a branch of politics, an applied social science."

Jesse H. Newlon, *Educational Administration as Social Policy*. Report of the Commission on the Social Studies, New York: Scribner's, 1934, pp. 1, 2, 8.



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# Poor Old History

ALAN LAKE CHIDSEY

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THE most conspicuous critic of the Report of the Commission on History to the College Entrance Examination Board has asked what the examinations are for; and, even though one thinks that it matters little what the answer to that question is, it would nevertheless be ungracious to refuse to defend the Board against the critic. At their best, College Board examinations may be accurate interpretations of attainment and ability; at their worst they are only the handmaidens of college admissions offices or the lead-line for schools in a climb to academic respectability. Whatever their purpose, they bear little relation to the form and substance of the major portion of the History Commission's Report, which, in the writer's opinion, is one more proof of the fact that, in seeking the solution to a given problem, hard thinking often creates a by-product more significant than the original undertaking.

The real contribution of the Report is

Mr Chidsey, assistant to the headmaster of the Pawling School, Pawling, New York, was a member of one of the subcommittees of the Commission on History of the College Entrance Examination Board. Convinced that the history program stands in need of change, he is not alarmed by new proposals or the prospect of extensive readjustments that would be required of teachers.

the definition of history and its objectives. The members of the Commission, whose mandate was the construction of an examination, became (opinion to the contrary) concertedly aware of what is happening in the history field of secondary education today. It was evident to them that the history curriculum is not in need of liberalization or restriction half so much as it is of stability and direction by some plan or method of approach to curb the destructive tinkering that now predominantly characterizes the social studies. Poor old history is anything from a palace of dates to a sea of froth. So lacking is it in standardized method of teaching and in agreement concerning what ought to be taught that, of all the fields of secondary study, it has the lowest correlation in any combination of Educational Records Bureau test, College Board examination, and school marks.<sup>1</sup> Conceivably there will never be a high correlation in history, but 41 per cent, 47 per cent, and 57 per cent (in each case below that of English) are correlations that indicate questionable validity; and the Commission questioned the validity of many of the methods of approach to history in use today. Further they condemned the apparent attempt to make tinkering by whim synonymous with progress; and they decided that, if any examinations are to be valid, it is necessary first to bring into some pattern of agreement all of the aspects—liberal or conservative—of history content and method that will help make the subject

<sup>1</sup> *Educational Records Bulletin*, No. 19 (1937), p. 94.

vital, co-ordinate it with other subjects, and make it a permanent part of the ideology of living.

THIS involved, first, the establishment of a definition of history and, second, the adoption of objectives. It is interesting to observe that the most violent of the Report's critics took no issue with the definition (i.e., history is the study of man in society from his dim beginning to the present day). He did, however, object to the suggested method of approach and asked whether the Commission proposed to teach history or sociology. The obvious answer, it would seem, is that history is broad sociology taught in a chronological pattern, and that to interpret it as anything else is to put it in an academic vacuum, to denude it of the force that created it, and to take from it its power to relate itself to the present. One of the factors that suggested the title "Poor Old History," and that in many preparatory schools has reduced history to the doubtful importance of an "elective" subject, is the persistent willingness of teachers to represent it as a work of art rather than as a cumulative, functional instrument in everyday living. Another factor has been the rebellion against rigid and impersonal method, which has resulted in an unrestrained disrespect for organization and a kind of spiritual crusade against accuracy of historical fact, under the assumption that, if curiosity is inspired whether it be intellectual or prejudicial, the job is well and fully done.

The Commission recognized these attitudes and in attempting to bring them into balance stressed in one part of the report a knowledge of historical background and stated in another that all social forces were present in any given age. To this the accusation of inconsistency was made. On the contrary there is no inconsistency in the recognition of two truths, which by their fortunate coincidence further encouraged the Commission to believe that it was on the right track in the development of a pat-

tern or a curriculum written in broad principles, which would bring orderliness, demand scholarship, and still allow the maximum flexibility for the spirit of discovery that makes a great teacher.

THE approach that the Commission proposes is variously called "the social problem approach" and "the social process approach." If labels signify revolution, it is unfortunate that the proposed curriculum was ever labeled, because there seems little of revolution in it. Call it what he may, "functional" or anything else, the approach of the most effective teacher is (if educational articles and conference discussions may be accepted for criteria) fundamentally the one suggested and put into outline by the Commission. Such a teacher may be guided by a textbook that traces the progress of institutions or attempts to survey neat parceled periods; but inevitably he analyzes these institutions and these periods in terms of the society that created and then either suffered or benefited from them. Whatever factual material he uses, he stresses the "problems of adjustment to the external physical world, of biological conservation and reproduction, of transmitting and continuing the cultural inheritance, of enriching the individual life"; and he stresses the fact that men in society, in dealing with these problems, have "grouped themselves in various ways, and have undertaken to guide human behavior and purpose by establishing, imposing and protecting standards of behavior." He is forced to do this, if the characters of history and their actions are to be alive and meaningful to the people of the present. To say that teaching from a sociological point of view is untried, that it lacks validity, is to refuse recognition of the inspiring and effective teacher who finds in the proposed curriculum a much needed guide to standardized organization of materials, and who also finds himself ready to adopt all but the cumulative feature of the report with little evidence of change.

The poor teacher is not ready. The

point is brought out that the extremely high teacher requirement demanded by the Report's comprehensive plan of organization and presentation may react in an undemocratic fashion in schools, placing at a disadvantage the pupils who have, for one reason or another, drawn a dud. If this is true, it seems only right to assume that the procedure now employed in those situations is probably that of rote-memorizing, which has no direct benefit on the later careers of the students as citizens and cultural individuals in society. As such it is probably better that history courses be discontinued, until a teacher of inspiration and scholarship can be hired. Certainly it is not wishful thinking to hope that academic progress will not be thwarted in order to protect inadequate teachers. Certainly it is not undemocratic toward pupils to insist upon higher qualifications and higher scholarship for teachers. Unfortunately in many ways, there is not such a paucity of candidates that the profession can not demand better trained and better equipped material. There is an opportunity, on the other hand, through the adoption of this proposed curriculum to discipline and weed out of the history field those who would live in a palace of dates or sail a sea of froth, and to make history vital enough to win such a significant place in the curriculum that the cumulative feature of the Report can be adopted universally.

THAT history has definitely been forced into the "elective" field, that it has lost respect, is challengingly if not conclusively reflected in the figures of the 1935 College Entrance Examination Board reports. Every other area of study had more Board candidates than history. Even Latin exceeded it, in spite of the increasing trend toward modern rather than ancient languages.

No one seems to disagree that the cumulative view of history is admirable as an ideal, nor that it would be a tremendous gain if it could be practised. Yet there

are "practical difficulties" which, when analyzed, resolve themselves into the single fact that competitively history has lost out. It has not proved itself as great a servant to the needs of the average student as other subjects. Why it has not proved itself as great is certainly not because it lacks inherent fascination, certainly not because it does not hold sesame to the understanding of everything to which other fields of learning and activity are subordinate. It can only be because it has not been made vital, because it has been thrown on a screen without enough appeal to draw its audience sympathetically into its drama—a drama which, ironically enough, must be carried on by that audience, whether it chooses or not.

THE "high teacher demands" of the Commission's proposed curriculum for secondary schools are, upon careful thought, actually more practical than they are academic. It should be assumed first and foremost that any teacher must be a master of his field. From then on two facts ought to be recognized. First, the majority of college teachers have found specialization in the high-school years undesirable. They wish incoming students to be more familiar with an elementary synthesis of man and his relations to social adjustment and believe it primarily more beneficial if the students present a more mature approach toward the gathering, piecing together, and use of information regardless of the simplicity of that information. Second, education does not deal with meeting educationally imposed philosophies, but with meeting the practical needs of a world so remote from the educational world that all educators, to be honest in their profession, must make a superhuman effort to live and think in terms of a practical world; and certainly teachers must do so. Here perhaps is the secret of the limitation in the teaching of history particularly, which only the best teachers overcome. Here perhaps is the reason why some educators give separate



identity to the "functional approach" and the "social process (or problem) approach"; for if there is any actual difference in the way the two work out it is probable that the difference is not scholastic but the more human discrepancy between those who know living history and those who do not. Thus "high teacher demands" are in reality confined to the discovery of men and women who are vital in their living, who are searching of people as well as of books and who are closer to a psychological understanding of boys and girls, men and women and groups—the laboratory of human behavior—than to scales for the measurement

of factual information, however important.

THE Commission's proposed plan will force these demands, it will win back the conviction that history must be a cumulative and required part of a high-school curriculum, it will bring organization, order, and a comparable set of values to history teachers and still allow them flexibility and freedom of discovery. And the writing of suitable textbooks, the combing of factual material, and the assembly of more than enough cumulative data of primary importance to the mastery of usable and truly scholarly history will rapidly follow.

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#### FURTHER DISSENT

We find in the "Report" a fine expression of certain ideals with which we are in accord, but we do not feel that the means suggested will attain them. Instead there will be a thin factual residuum which will result in a very unsatisfactory piece of construction when the attempt is made to put together the desired picture of civilization. We are disturbed because we believe that some of the proposed changes will operate, not to promote, but to diminish sound work and sound instruction. Our belief is based upon experience derived from contact with boys who, as a rule, are a little more mature than the average school candidate for college.

The extended units—for, after all, the new plan would still be a unit system, although each unit is more comprehensive—will leave insufficient time for a thoughtful, thorough treatment. In the Ancient-Mediaeval unit proposed, not only is there the desire to bring in more activities, but about forty per cent has been added to the distance to be travelled. At Exeter we offer a year's study in English history. This would have to be covered as a subordinate part of two other units. Here, as in Ancient history, the present thorough treatment would have to be dispensed with.

In conclusion, we endorse unanimously Mr Kepner's dissenting report. It is worth pointing out that the dissent comes from the only member of the Commission doing classroom teaching in a secondary school. We object to giving up what we believe are sound methods in order to skim the surface of many subjects. After all, as Mr Kepner points out, are we to teach sociology or history? If schools are to teach both and at the same time increase the time-content of the units, there can be but one result—the minimizing of the factual below the point essential to sound reasoning. Such changes would militate against the maintenance of thorough standards of work. Mastery of fact must come before intelligent weighing of material; knowledge must precede wisdom.

From a three-page mimeographed memorandum, "Regarding the Report of the Commission on Examinations in History," offered by the teachers of history at the Phillips Exeter Academy.

# Social Sciences in High School

Report of the Subcommittee on the Other Social Studies  
to the Commission on History of the College Entrance Examination Board

THE existence of the "other social studies" and their rather rapid expansion in the secondary-school curriculum in the past two decades or more have created a problem of major proportions for national committees on history. That the Commission on History of the College Entrance Examination Board in its recent Report recognized the prevalence of the issue is evident in the following quoted paragraph.

The Commission further maintains that the historical approach is the natural and easy method of approach to the so-called social studies,—by which is meant political science, economics, and sociology. It believes that the historical evolution of political, economic, and social institutions is the best foundation upon which to build an understanding of the contemporary elaborations of these institutions and of their functioning in contemporary society. The Commission recognizes that there is a considerable body of opinion, particularly in the public schools, which regards the functional approach to economic, sociological, and political problems as of fundamental importance. It has taken this body of opinion into account, and has appointed a subcommittee, drawn chiefly from the public schools and made up of economists, political scientists, and sociologists, to consider and advise. As a result of the deliberations of this subcommittee a concrete plan for a one-year course in economics has been laid before the Commission. But, while recognizing the merits of this plan, the Commission still maintains that the departmentalizing of the social studies had better be deferred until after the student has entered college.<sup>1</sup>

It is plain from the above quotation, which is not in any way invalidated by removal from its context, that the Commission hews close to the line of the historical

approach. In conformity with the conviction that "the historical approach is the natural and easy method of approach to the so-called social studies,—by which is meant political science, economics, and sociology," the Commission recommended the following four-year curriculum for the senior high-school social studies:

1. Ancient and mediaeval history of Western Europe from the beginnings to the beginning of the sixteenth century
2. Modern European history
3. American history
4. Contemporary civilization.<sup>2</sup>

The subcommittee referred to was the first of a number of subcommittees established by the Commission and one of two created to consider the perplexing final year's recommendations. The subcommittee, part of whose report follows, was composed of the following members: Mr Robert I. Adriance, The High School, East Orange, New Jersey; Professor Phillips Bradley, Amherst College; Mr E. Schuyler Palmer, The High School, Montclair, New Jersey; Professor Horace Taylor, Columbia University; Mr Tyler Kepner, The High School, Brookline, Massachusetts, *Chairman*.<sup>3</sup> The subcommittee was unanimously agreed in its recommendations, which were

<sup>1</sup> "Report," p. 552.

<sup>2</sup> The recommendations of this subcommittee in respect to "Contemporary Civilization" are not included here by agreement of the chairman of the Commission and the chairman of the subcommittee, primarily because it is their interpretation of the vote of the Commission that only the detailed recommendations concerning economics be published.

<sup>3</sup> "Final Report and Recommendations of the Commission on History to the College Entrance Examination Board," *Social Studies*, December, 1936, pp. 548-549.

submitted to the Commission on History on February 1, 1935.

The Commission, since it did not approve the offering of economics as a separate subject in the secondary schools, decided not to include in its published recommendations the report of this subcommittee. The Commission did feel, however, that if economics was to be given as a separate study in the secondary schools, the proposals of this subcommittee would be of great assistance in the preparation of a course of study for such a subject. The Commission accordingly directed its chairman, Conyers Read, and the chairman of the subcommittee, Tyler Kepner, to arrange for the publication of that part of the report of the subcommittee which dealt with economics. The subcommittee's report, with necessary editorial notes by the chairman of the subcommittee, follows.

#### THE SUBCOMMITTEE'S MANDATE

THE subcommittee was directed by the chairman of the Commission "to consider and recommend to the *Commission on History* a curriculum in the Social Sciences (as distinct from history) which in the opinion of the subcommittee in question should be incorporated in the recommendations of the *Commission on History* for a curriculum of the Social Studies (including history) in the Secondary Schools, and which should be examined for in the C. E. E. B. examinations."

#### WHY THE SOCIAL STUDIES?

ONE of the fundamental problems, as seen by your subcommittee, is not that the question under discussion is one of a given group of the social studies against another group or of a given social study against the field, but rather a matter of what possible grouping of the social studies is most likely to serve best at this time and in the immediate future the needs of society through secondary education. Motivated by this fundamental concept, the subcommittee hastens to accept the Commission's defini-

tion of history broadened to include the major phases—economic, social, and cultural, as well as political—of man's past. Frankness, however, compels the query whether man in this complex industrial age can live by the past alone. Or to put the question another way: Do not the other social studies—economics, political science, and sociology, to mention the primary ones—have contributions to make to secondary education that cannot adequately be covered by a curriculum in history, concerned as it must be with a very wide field and limited as it also must be by time in the school's general program of studies?

Interested in no long list of so-called objectives that have been marshalled in the name of the "other social studies," the subcommittee would focus attention upon the critical and analytical method associated with the social sciences. Thus the method involved in economics and government implies the study of relationships among going economic and political institutions and the forms of behavior which center about these institutions. For example, the consequences to economic stability—or to traditional interpretation of the Constitution—of current banking organization and practice involve considerations, both analytical and critical, which do not lend themselves to purely historical interpretation.

This approach, particularly when it follows a thorough training in the historical method, can and ought to be not only an invaluable complement to history study but an indispensable handmaid to youth seeking in the name of education to learn not only how he came to be what he is but giving him some understanding of how he may participate with satisfaction in the activities of the community and also how he may be able to adapt himself and his social environment in the future.

To be more concrete on this point, we suggest that the critical and analytical approach to the study of society through the medium of certain political, economic, or sociological content, for example, will



greatly lend weight to several objectives named by the Commission in its tentative statement of "Definitions and Objectives."<sup>4</sup> To cite: The "historical evolution of political, economic, and social institutions is the best foundation upon which to build an understanding of the contemporary elaborations of these institutions and of their functioning in contemporary society."<sup>5</sup> Or, "the teaching of history offers a particularly favorable opportunity to familiarize them [secondary school pupils] with the rules which determine the testing of facts, the selection of facts and the arrangement of facts as preliminary to the formation of sound opinion about any social problem, past or present."<sup>6</sup>

While history courses by their very nature will, no doubt, adequately care for "the historical evolution of . . . institutions" and will explore to some extent "the contemporary elaborations of these institutions" and to a lesser extent "their functioning in contemporary society," yet, owing to the limitations of time, if nothing more, they cannot, we believe, do justice to "the contemporary elaborations of these institutions and of their functioning in contemporary society," which can be done and is being done in certain schools in respect to economic, political, and social institutions by full-time courses in these fields. With the former procedure, the emphasis will be upon the evolution of institutions; with the latter, upon the contemporary institutions themselves. To illustrate with the market as an example: Its origin and development will no doubt be treated adequately in the broadened history course, but it is ventured that a study of the contemporary commodity and securities markets will of necessity be curtailed, and your subcommittee submits that the youth of today and tomorrow will need and will de-

mand a more thorough selection, arrangement, and testing of the facts of such contemporary institutions "as preliminary to the formation of a sound opinion." A multiplication of such examples is of course unnecessary. In such social sciences, history, it will be observed, is used primarily as a springboard to the present.

To summarize at this point, our firm belief is that, while history and the historical method are indispensable elements of social education, they do not meet the needs of instruction in the fields occupied by the social studies. However broad one's definition of history, that discipline, so long as it remains history, will not be political science, although it may give ample emphasis to political history, will not be economics, although it may take economic history into proper account, will not be sociology, although it may give an unprecedented emphasis to social evolution.

Furthermore, an acknowledgment of the educational values contained in allied fields would constitute an important recognition of a movement which has literally gripped the schools bent upon training for or in citizenship. Several recent researches have thrown light on such current administrative and pedagogical developments in American school systems. We recommend the utilization of such of these developments as can further the general program for improving the awareness of succeeding high-school generations of their social environment, especially of their place in the contemporary American scene.

Beyond these considerations, we believe that social intelligence, founded as it is on a knowledge of the past and an appreciation of the present, must, if man is to direct his future, give thought to that future. What, then, is this further element which to some at least is necessary to make most effective the historical sense developed from the study of the past? For this we turn to Professor Charles E. Merriam, quoting from his *Civic Education in the United States* (Report of the Commission on the Social

<sup>4</sup> With modifications, the tentative statement appears in final form in the "Report," pp. 548-550.

<sup>5</sup> See quotation given in the introduction.

<sup>6</sup> For this statement, with modifications, see the published "Report," p. 550.

Studies, American Historical Association. New York: Scribner, 1934, pp. 182-183):

Economic and political systems may undergo many striking changes in the near future, not merely once but many times, before an equilibrium is reached, and it is therefore important that emphasis be laid strongly on the inner scientific core of behavior, and the possibility and facility of adaptation and adjustment to changing conditions. If there are radical differences as to social policy in our land, it will be found all the more important to make the training in the fundamentals of cooperative living of greatest importance, although judging from the experience of other states, the direct opposite may be true, and the weakest elements in the situation may be most strongly emphasized in the scheme of social education.

At the risk of wearisome repetition, I may say again that one of the weaknesses of many recent systems of politics and economics has been the failure to present a picture of what might reasonably be attained within a not too distant future. In modern times no system can rest upon its past alone. It must develop a future or suffer the consequences. And it must be a future in terms of the social scientific possibilities indicated by the present and increasing knowledge of our social world, and the possibilities of social engineering within that world. There are value systems and emotional drives which grow out of the past, but there are others that spring out of the future. They come out of hope and expectation of another and a better day.

It is important accordingly that the scientific developments of the present situation be fully and vividly portrayed, in order that mankind may be made aware of what lies ahead, assuming that adequate social engineering can be found and can be supported by the masses with whom the ultimate power of disposition lies.

A new world is well within our reach if we can organize and act to obtain it. Men do not believe this; they do not see it; they do not heed, perhaps, even the words in which such a picture is developed before them. But the educational possibilities are consequently all the greater—the prospect of providing through the schools the necessary background of fact and technique and feelings which will make this dream of the future a throbbing reality in human purpose.

If this objective is included—and it is believed by the subcommittee that it is the implicit if not the explicit basis of the current development of the social-studies field in our secondary schools—the value of the other social studies as well as of history for the understanding and remaking of our society is clear.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

**B**EARING in mind the definition of the Commission, the needs of the colleges, but above all the needs and demands of

social education for youth—those who go to college and the great majority who do not—and the communities of which they are an important part, your subcommittee recommends for the final high-school year of social studies a one-year course in economics and/or a one-year course which may possibly be labeled "Contemporary Civilization"—a course in which the focus of study will be on political, economic, and social problems and institutions without regard to theoretical systems *per se*. It is further recommended that examinations be offered in each of these courses by the College Entrance Examination Board.

#### COMMENTS ON RECOMMENDATIONS

**T**HE subcommittee would add that its recommendations are in no sense prejudicial to the present widespread practice of offering community civics in the schools, commonly in the ninth grade. It would, as a matter of fact, emphasize to the Commission and the schools the value of community civics as a background for subsequent courses in history, economics, and contemporary civilization in the high school. That community civics is not recommended as a subject for examination by the College Entrance Examination Board alone explains the omission.

It is to be noted that there is at present a trend toward differentiating the students going to college and those finishing their formal education in the secondary schools so far as the type of course in the social studies available to each group. Were the advanced courses in economics and contemporary civilization as now offered in many of our best secondary schools made the subject of college entrance examination, it is believed that they would attract prospective college students and equip them so much the better for beginning courses in economics, government, and sociology in college—especially as these courses in the secondary schools emphasize the factual background essential to any advanced work

and supply what may be called the alphabet of the social sciences.

It appears, therefore, that from whichever point of view one considers the question of social studies—their existing practical development in our secondary schools or their utility as social disciplines—the value of alternative courses in economics and contemporary civilization is clear. Not only are the materials in economics, government, and sociology sufficiently rich and distinctive to make such courses educationally valuable, but the value of comprehending the essential factors in at least one of these fields, for the citizen who is to adjust himself to contemporary conditions, requires no argument.<sup>7</sup> The development of these specialized courses provides a valuable link between the study of history as it is developed traditionally in our schools and the life of which the graduates of these schools so soon become a part. This dovetailing process may indeed be the as yet unconscious answer to the criteria set up by the Commission on History of the College Entrance Examination Board and the Commission on the Social Studies of the American Historical Association.

<sup>7</sup> In view of this statement it is necessary to add editorially that the subcommittee refrained from recommending separate courses in sociology and government for the following reasons among others. On the one hand, it felt that such recommendation would not receive favorable action on the part of the Commission; on the other, it was not convinced that there was as yet sufficient demand for such courses to warrant college board examinations in those separate fields. The subcommittee recognized the last position to be a debatable one, if statistically defensible (see "The Social Studies Curriculum," *Fourteenth Yearbook*, Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association, Washington, D.C.: National Education Assoc., 1936, pp. 87-90, and W. G. Kimmel, "Instruction in the Social Studies," United States Office of Education, *Bulletin*, 1932, No. 17, pp. 17-19.) In these two surveys the statistical trend is overwhelmingly in favor of economics. Obviously—but not too obviously—a functional course in contemporary civilization of the proper type might be a second choice of those who favor separate courses in the three disciplines of government, sociology, and economics. But it is also probably true that an increasing number of secondary-school teachers are not convinced that a composite course will best serve the needs of a given school situation.

#### SUGGESTED THEMES IN RECOMMENDED COURSES

THE subcommittee is convinced that educational effectiveness in a general course in economics or in contemporary civilization,<sup>8</sup> such as contemplated in this report, requires that the courses be organized about a central principle which is clearly stated and consistently adhered to; thus is promoted desired unity and coherence within a course. The ideal organizing principle, in the opinion of the subcommittee, would be one which would enable students to come to grips most directly with the important economic, social, and political problems of the present, to understand most clearly the set of institutions within which these problems repose, and to comprehend the operating relations among these institutions and between them and the individual members of the community. In view of local differences in major interest, and owing to differences in curricular plans and in facilities for instruction, the subcommittee prefers to suggest several alternative organizing principles rather than a single one. It is believed that a course in economics, constructed about any one of these principles, may achieve a high degree of effectiveness along the lines indicated above. It is also believed that a course organized in one or another of these ways would be strongly supported by, and would relate quite cogently to, an earlier three-year study of history. Among the principles which might be utilized are:

1. Standards of living. The study would be centered about the material conditions of various economic groups. The relations of institutional forms and performances to these various sets of material conditions would be examined.

2. Economic security. The study in this case would be of what economic security is, of what facilities exist for advancing it, of ways in which security is or is not attained through these facilities, of what is and can

<sup>8</sup> See footnote 3.



be attempted in order to achieve security.

3. The economic plant and its effective operation. This would involve analytical description of the going economic system, an attempt to construct criteria of effectiveness of operation, and consideration of ways and means of attaining effectiveness in these terms.

The particular working principle adopted in a course would provide the major emphasis of that course, and also would constitute the point of reference to which the various elements of subject material would be related. Substantially the same content in subject material would be appropriate to a course organized along any one of these lines. As has been suggested with reference to possible principles of organization in economics, the subcommittee feels that the course in contemporary civilization can be organized around such principles as social welfare, security, or planning.

The following themes or topics in economics and contemporary civilization are suggested not as a course of study but rather as content material subject to examination. And the subcommittee would emphasize again that the content should be concrete and factual, and that the presentation and study should be analytical and critical.

#### ECONOMICS

1. *A statement and some elaboration of the organizing principle of the course.* The desirability of having students understand from the outset the particular line which their study is to follow is perhaps self-evident.

2. *The geographic basis of economic life.* This topic contemplates a summary treatment of economic geography with some reference to geographical determinants in the development of modern industry.

3. *The genesis of contemporary economic forms and institutions.* This involves a brief sketch of the shifting emphases in economic life, beginning perhaps with the manorial system and the system of handi-

crafts and guilds and running through the domestic organization of production to the contemporary scheme of intensive specialization and machine industry organized through commitments of capital.

4. *The legal bases of contemporary economic life.* Some sketch of the position occupied in law, and furthered by judicial opinion, of the basic institutions; private ownership of the means of production; and liberty both in the sense of freedom of contract and the right to carry on industry or trade.

5. *Financial organization of economic life.* The study of the monetary system of the United States, the meaning of the gold standard, the emergence of credit in connection with business transactions, the organized banking system, with special reference to the functions of the Federal Reserve System, and the conditions involved in credit inflation.

6. *The organization of production.* This would constitute a fairly large portion of the subject matter of a course. It would include the organization of business and industry with special reference to the growing dominance of the corporate form. Going beyond this, it would examine somewhat the current tendencies toward monopoly and toward the emergence of "control groups" within particular industries and particular enterprises. This topic implies also a consideration of the technological organization of production with special reference to manufacturing industry.

7. *The market as the center of contemporary economic life.* It is our opinion that the market should be studied as the focus of economic activity. Emphasis would be laid on the characteristics of "money economy" in which people's economic efforts consist chiefly of making and spending money income. The market would be offered as a set of processes by which these money incomes are made and spent. The subcommittee is very strongly of the opinion that the analytical description of marketing processes, associated with as much as pos-

sible first-hand investigation of particular organized markets, will accomplish more at this elementary level of instruction in clarifying these processes and pointing out their importance than it is possible to do by means of the conventional study of value and distribution in terms of marginal analysis. This belief on the part of the subcommittee is at least a negative reason for the suggestion of the organization principles as stated in an earlier part of this report.

8. *Special groups and interests affected by the contemporary forms and institutions of economic life.*

a. Wage earners. The status of wage earners, their special problems, the aims and objectives of labor organizations of various types, methods employed in attempting to give effect to their aims (such as strikes, boycotts with their associated picketing activities, arbitration), instruments of the employer in labor disputes (as lockouts, injunctions), action taken by the community to alleviate some of the conditions of labor (such as wage and hour legislation, Article 7a of the NRA).

b. Agriculturalists. The special problems of farmers, including their marketing conditions, their relation to tariffs, the trends of agricultural prices and of the prices of things which farmers buy, the extent and nature of farm indebtedness; the effect of social devices such as Rural Free Delivery, automobiles, and radio, on farmers' modes of life; attempts by the community to alleviate some conditions of farmers, such as mortgage moratoria and the AAA.

c. Consumers. Standards of consumption, including what is contained or implied in "health and decency" family budgets; the position of the consumer as an unskilled

buyer in a market dominated by skilled sellers; the effect of advertising and propaganda in influencing consumers' choices. A consideration of leisure as an important element in consumption might fall within this category.

9. *Limitations on freedom of enterprise.* Within this general field are included the attempts to combat monopoly, both through legislative prohibition and through the administrative commission system of "maintaining fair competition." Included also are public enterprises and regulation of "industries affected with a public interest."

10. *International economic relations.* Some study of what is implied in a "balance of international payments" and of the trends in economic relations which have given rise to current national policies. In this connection it is recommended that, in studying the effects of recent economic trends of an international scope, the position of the United States be taken as a focus and conditions in other nations be examined only in so far as they cut across conditions in the United States or policies of the United States. The tariff—the protection versus free trade problem—would emerge in connection with study along these lines.

11. *Elements involved in economic crisis.* A study of relations among price levels, credit conditions, employment, various income categories, and business solvency as they have shown themselves in our most recent experience.

12. *Current economic policies.* This would involve a study of the set of devices adopted by governmental bodies for controlling or directing economic affairs. At present this set of devices is summed up by the label "The New Deal."

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# The Community as a Laboratory for Elementary-School Social Science

MARY HARDEN

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**I**F children are to be made aware of social change and social needs, and develop social understandings needed for effective participation in society, it is important that the school provide first-hand contacts with the community—the laboratory which furnishes the concrete evidence for developing and formulating generalizations about the world in which pupils live. There should be nothing difficult about the use of the immediate environment. Moreover, the best of modern educational principles hold that learning should come through personal experiences, that these experiences should be real and interesting, and that they should lead to increased constructive participation.

By projecting the work of the classroom into the laboratory of the neighborhood even children of early elementary-school age may be led to understand increasingly the importance of the various elements of the community and their intimate relationship to the lives of individual members. Too often a teacher's preparation and a child's experience in any study of community life

are limited to what might be called an inventory of neighborhood activities, without due attention to their purpose and interrelationships. For example, if a child learns about the work which the policeman, the street cleaner, and others perform, but, on coming from the classroom, passes the waste-paper container to throw papers or the remains of his lunch into the street or on the sidewalk, and crosses the street against the light, he has failed to grasp the real meaning of his individual responsibility.

## COMMUNITY MODELS

**S**IMILARLY, elementary-school teachers and pupils often undertake to reconstruct elaborately, by means of blocks, cardboard models, or painted murals, important sections and happenings of the locality in which they live, and to show various groups of people at work. Usually these reproductions indicate the pupil's knowledge of the location of different sections of his town, but seldom does one see a community in miniature which shows a realization of any need for changing the status quo of community planning and living.

Often, however, children's interest may be utilized to advance the study of planning for future improvement. A first-grade teacher in the Horace Mann School found her pupils intensely interested in airplanes and exceedingly eager to build a city over which their own airplanes might fly. As a result "Reynoldstown" was constructed in this classroom. The city was blocked out and cardboard houses set up, a business dis-

Few will question in this day the need for use of the community in social-studies teaching, but practical suggestions are always in order. Miss Harden, director of social studies in the Horace Mann School, New York City, presented this paper at the Detroit meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies last November.



tract added, a fire station built so that it was situated between the residential and business districts, and a school, a church, and a museum provided, all accessible to the citizens. As soon as these children began to use this growing town in both their play and their educational experiences they came to realize the practical need for desirable elements of community planning. Placing safety signs, restricting traffic to one-way streets, arranging for gardens, parks, and play space, providing for parking areas away from business districts, limiting parades to a few minutes' duration or eliminating them entirely from the business section, were some of the aspects of good city planning considered in the development of Reynoldstown.

Throughout the growth of this town the six-year-old citizens made many changes in the original plan. These changes were the result of co-operative discussion and were often influenced by pictures and headlines from the daily press and by discussions at home, which made such community problems as traffic and parades as important to Reynoldstown as they were to the city of New York.

#### TRIPS AND PERSONAL CONTACTS

SUCH study includes much more than the mere listing and locating of different types of buildings. A third grade of the Horace Mann School that had organized an Exploration Club expressed a desire to explore the neighborhood adjacent to the school, to find out where their classmates lived. As they discussed their trip through the nearby street they began to consider such needs for good living as keeping well, playing in the sun, having fun, resting, working, learning, eating, getting clothing. Later the class considered the workers of the community and the services which they rendered to the pupils and their families. They decided that people help each other when they help promote good group living. They endeavored to carry out as far as possible many of the policies of the city that

were applicable to their neighborhood. One of these was Mayor La Guardia's "quiet campaign," which the children themselves could advance in the home, at school, and on the street.

This same group experienced the close relationship of workers to those who receive service, when the school janitors and elevator attendants joined in a city-wide strike. The children became extremely interested in the welfare of the workers. They invited the head janitor into the classroom to talk with them concerning the income of the workers and the cost of their living. They compared the amount paid to these men with the amount that it cost them and their families to live. These young investigators soon found that the "boys" with whom they had an actual contact, and for whom they had real affection, were not able to maintain many of the standards which the class had set as necessary to good community living.

#### INQUIRY AND PARTICIPATION

THE elevator strike was discussed in the seventh grade much more comprehensively, with attention not only to the interests of the worker, but of the apartment house owners, the public, and the city government, which had to solve strike problems in the best way for the immediate need for the greatest number of people. The class read different daily newspaper accounts, interviewed tenants, owners, and elevator boys. Some of the class showed their sympathy by climbing from eight to fifteen flights of stairs instead of riding in elevators run by strike-breakers. One girl formulated and circulated a petition asking several hundred apartment dwellers to aid the cause of the strike by refusing to ride in the elevator. Members of the class wrote letters to the Mayor, to the head of the union, to the lawyer who served as secretary of the Realty Board, and to the leader of the strike-breakers. In each letter they asked for a statement of the point of view which was being held by that particular group as

the solution to the situation. Some of the class were very much interested in the necessity for more wages to meet certain standards of living which they thought essential to happiness. In the letter to the lawyers representing the owners, they asked: "Do you think the present wage of strikers is a living wage?" Many children in the group were personally concerned in the strike, for their fathers were owners of apartment houses and office buildings. They brought to the class the point of view of the owner, who, through the depression, had suffered great losses of income from the lack of tenants, the high cost of upkeep, and hence the absence of money to pay increased wages. By means of these letters and other activities, the children gained some understanding of both sides of the problem, and learned something of the value of compromise in balanced living.

#### APPLICATION OF HISTORY

**A**T the time when the elevator strike broke in New York, this seventh-grade group was studying the ancient civilization of Egypt in relation to the progress of man through the ages, and reading Biblical literature on Egypt. In this study of an ancient civilization they informed themselves upon the condition of the people who were doing the manual labor. The class looked back to worse experiences than those of the present, and from the ideas gained they were able to make their contrasts between life in ancient Egypt and New York City today. They found that, when leadership is ahead of the majority of the people the way of the leader is very often troublesome.

The class continued to use the theme of the condition of the workers in the culminating activity of the year. A section of the play was set in ancient Egypt, showing conditions of the laborers and their relation to overlords and kings. One scene showed Moses as a leader and the oppressed people making preparations to go to the Promised Land. This act of the play closed

with choral speaking. The chorus, which was written by the children, included these verses:

Where shall we run and where shall we hide?  
Fear runs fast in Jeshurun.

The sea opened wide and we walked inside,  
Marching, marching to Canaan.

Moses, Moses, gave the command,

He was king of Jeshurun;  
Cross over Jordan to the Promised Land,  
Marching, marching to Canaan.

When you fear to go and it's worse to delay,  
And there is no help in Jeshurun,  
Judah, Judah, will find you the way,  
Marching, marching to Canaan.

The second part of the play dealt with labor conditions in modern times. The story of the elevator strike was vividly portrayed, from its outbreak to the compromise in the mayor's office. One of the songs written by the children, intended, of course, to represent the views and perhaps the spirit of militant strikers, follows:

#### STRIKERS' SONG

It's us workers who make the world,  
So let us strike, strike, strike!  
And the bosses can run the cars,  
If they like, like, like.  
If we only knew our strength,  
Why, we could run and own the world  
Throughout its breadth and length.

Ohhhh! It's us workers who make the world,  
So let us strike, strike, strike!  
And the bosses can run the cars,  
If they like, like, like.

It's us workers who make the world  
Though our share is very small  
But if things were evenly divided,  
There would be enough for all.

Ohhhh! It's us workers who make the world  
So let us strike, strike, strike!  
And the bosses can run the cars  
If they like, like, like.

It's us workers who make the world  
And all through history  
The ones on the bottom must join and fight  
Before they get victory.

#### OPPORTUNITIES FOR OBSERVATION

**T**HERE are always excellent opportunities in studying community life to develop within young children a beginning insight into the continuing problems of the

laborer, and an intelligent understanding of his relationships with those for whom he works, together with an appreciation of the problems growing out of the increasing use of machinery and the decrease in opportunities for some kinds of employment. Throughout the country numerous work projects are being carried on by the federal government to provide work. State and city governments, often in connection with the federal government, are sponsoring the development of new highways, parks, and recreational centers, and the building and repairing of schoolhouses. In many localities private industry is enlarging and extending its factory areas, or exploring possibilities for new industrial developments. In other instances groups within the community are engaged in building a club house or church. The construction of a new church across the street from the school furnished considerable material for study by a fifth-grade group. From their classroom window these young children saw the machine age as a reality. The line of jobless men on the sidewalk each morning helped them to realize some of the problems of unemployment. They saw the derrick, the hoisting crane, the cement mixer, and the motor-driven steam shovel displace man power in building the church.

#### USE OF LOCAL HISTORY

IN order to have a thorough understanding of the social, political, and economic conditions of any community, it is necessary for children to know about the forces of the past which have operated in determining the course of the problems of the present time. A study of the history of the community helps the child to realize that the people of earlier times have contributed greatly to its growth and development, and likewise have faced similar problems. He may develop a keen appreciation of his own community through a study of the people who first settled it, their reasons for choosing to live in this community, the hardships which they had to overcome to

make the settlement a success, the building of homes, the early occupations and industries, the coming of highways, canals, and railroads, the establishing of forms of government, schools, and churches, the early forms of recreation and social interests, and some of the men and women who contributed to the permanency of the community. He may realize, too, that his own city or town is like many others, and representative of important characteristics in American life.

#### A STUDY OF HOUSING

ONE important contribution that a community can make to the total of American progress is to raise its standards of living through improving its housing conditions. Almost every city, village, or country section contains a slum area. It was the pleasant experience of the writer to work, in the summer Demonstration School of Teachers College, Columbia University, with a group of public-school children from various sections of the United States, on the problem of housing. Within a block of the school building is one of the worst slum districts in the city. Several trips were taken, both in this area and in the lower East Side slums, and to the model community at Radburn, New Jersey.

Previous to these expeditions the pupils were asked to record their agreement, uncertainty, or disagreement with a number of statements, as follows:

1. I believe that most of the homes in our city have plenty of sunlight.
2. I believe that most of the homes in our city are in quiet districts.
3. I am sure that almost all homes in our city are comfortably warm in winter.
4. I feel that it is very important that our garbage be collected regularly and promptly destroyed.
5. I believe that most of the children in our city obey traffic signals.
6. I believe that most of the children in our city have enough play space.
7. I think that factories should be located in one section of the city.
8. I believe that fast traffic should not be permitted to pass through residential districts.

There were eighty-seven questions in this test. The results of the test given before



the excursion into the community revealed that a third of the class were sensitive to the conditions suggested in the test. The test was given again after a trip. This time two-thirds of the group showed sensitivity.

Before taking trips into the community, the pupils suggested the following questions:

1. How do the people earn their living?
2. What kind of houses do they live in?
3. Have they good furnishings in their homes?
4. Have they pure water?
5. Do the children have a place to play?
6. Do they have medical care?
7. When do the children go to school?
8. Are they able to do the things they feel like doing?
9. Are the families unusually large?
10. Would I like to live there?
11. In what way is the government helping to improve these conditions?
12. Is my home much different from those we shall see?

On going into the slum district, these children entered the homes of tenement dwellers, visited neighborhood social centers, ate in the McFadden one-cent restaurant, explored "First Houses," a government project, and returned to their classroom to discuss the problems of living conditions as they had seen them.

During this study of housing, efforts were made from time to time to evaluate the growth in understanding on the part of these seventh-grade children, as they encountered these living problems in their own lives in New York City. Excerpts from one instrument of measurement follow:

"Mary is moving to Brooklyn next week. Write 5 questions below in order of their importance, which you would want to have answered before you might be able to know how happy she will be in her new home."

"A. Write 5 questions below which you think will help to determine the condition of Mary's health in her new home."

Some of the questions the children wrote were as follows:

- "1. Will Mary's house be clean? (13)
2. Will the house have plenty of windows for fresh air? (11)
3. Is there a good sewerage system? (7)
4. Will the house have proper bathing and toilet facilities?" (7)

"B. Five questions which will influence Mary's education in her new home."

The children wrote these as follows:

- "1. Will there be a good school? (19)
2. Will she have good teachers? (10)
3. Will she have good books? (6)
4. Will she have nice classmates?" (10)

"C. What do you think will influence the amusements Mary will have in her new home?"

Answers:

- "1. Will she have a yard? (8)
2. Will there be a park near home? (10)
3. Will she have someone to play with?" (13)

Another form of evaluation of this study of housing and the influence of using the community as a laboratory for the study of social problems, was the expression of the children's feelings and ideas, at the end of the six-weeks' study, in a culminating activity. This was a symbolic dialogue, entitled, "Till Our City Comes," and was presented in the final assembly.<sup>1</sup> Using for their theme the lines from Carl Sandburg's "Windy City,"

Put the city up; tear the city down;  
put it up again; let us find a city.  
... 'Dig and dream, dream and hammer,  
till your city comes.'

this poetic drama praised the city's towering buildings, monuments, and museums, commerce and shipping, and indicted it for its toleration of slum districts, lack of playground space, and unsanitary living conditions for such a large part of the population.

Communities change, but, whether large or small, and wherever found, their importance in education is a constant factor. Surely it is not necessary to urge that one important task of education is to develop an understanding of the community and to encourage effective participation in its affairs. The possibilities for study and activity, and the possible procedures in using the community as a social-science laboratory, are almost unlimited both in number and in variety.

<sup>1</sup> This dialogue was published in "Emotionalizing the Materials of Learning," by Elizabeth Fleming in the February issue of *Progressive Education* (pp. 120-125).

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# Education in International Affairs

The Foreign Policy Association

WILLIAM T. STONE

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**A** NUMBER of years ago a famous American, Elihu Root, said, "A democracy which undertakes to control its own foreign affairs ought to know something about the subject." That statement sums up in a sentence the object of the Foreign Policy Association. This is an American organization which is trying to build up an intelligent body of opinion on international affairs. It is not a propaganda organization. It has no special thesis to sell to the American people and no panacea to offer. It is an educational group which deals in facts in an effort to provide a backlog of opinion against which the American people can make up their own minds on important international questions.

How does this group function? Primarily through discussion and through research. Founded in 1918 by a group of liberal publicists, the Foreign Policy Association is a membership organization engaged in many branches of adult education. It maintains a national headquarters in New York,<sup>1</sup> a Washington Bureau, and active branches in some seventeen cities.

While there are countless organizations

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<sup>1</sup> At 8 West 40th Street.

In accordance with our policy of inviting discussion of the publishing programs of various organizations, we present this statement of the vice-president of the Foreign Policy Association.

interested in international affairs, the Foreign Policy Association is one of the few organizations in the United States which maintain a research staff for studying international events in a comprehensive and scientific manner. Begun more than ten years ago, this staff is today composed of ten experts in constant touch with first-hand sources of information through newspaper correspondents in the political capitals of the world.

From this research group comes a series of publications, *Foreign Policy Reports* published twice a month, the *Foreign Policy Bulletin*, a brief, terse weekly review of international events, *Headline Books*, and occasional pamphlets dealing with larger international problems.

The *Foreign Policy Reports* try to analyze the facts at the root of the changing national and international developments, and to present the factual background on current political and economic issues without bias or opinion. In preparing *Foreign Policy Reports* we have three main objectives. The first is to choose subjects of current importance, as is indicated by the titles of such recent *Reports* as "European Diplomacy in the Spanish Crisis"; "Civil War in Spain"; "The Struggle of the Powers in China"; the "American Foreign Trade Program"; "Political Conflict in France"; the "New Pan-American Conference." The second aim is to make these *Reports* as objective as possible. Our contact with correspondents all over the world, as well as with government departments and foreign embassies in Washington, have given us access to material not

readily available to private scholars. Before the *Reports* are published, the facts are carefully sifted and examined by outside critics representing different points of view. Our third objective is to make the results of our research available in a compact form to meet the needs of editors, writers, teachers, and students of international relations. Editorial writers on some 600 American newspapers rely on *Foreign Policy Reports* for unbiased information on international questions, and many colleges and universities use the *Reports* in courses on international relations, economics, and history.

**Y**ET the Foreign Policy Association is not content to publish scholarly *Reports* for the specialist. No one alive today can fail to sense that he is living through a period of profound crisis. Vast social and economic changes are taking place in the world. New and strange forms of government have arisen to challenge old and accepted forms, and democratic institutions have disappeared in many parts of Europe. If we in this country are to solve the problems of our times, if we are to resist the threat of war, we must learn to apply knowledge and understanding more successfully than we have done in the past. Much can be done by popular education, by the dissemination of knowledge among the American people.

Last year, with this object in mind, the FPA added an important new project to its educational program by organizing a department of popular education to develop new methods of supplying simple but informative material on international affairs. The first product of this department was a new series of brief, "easy to read" books, illustrated with vivid picture charts that often tell more than pages of dreary text, and crammed with facts on current world affairs. The object of this series, known as Headline Books, is to present the complicated and difficult problems of our times

in a form so simple and interesting that the material will be read and understood by large numbers of Americans who have no time for learned volumes or technical reports. The subjects covered are of genuine and immediate interest to Americans in all walks of life, such as the problem of American neutrality, the issues of dictatorship, the menace—alleged or real—of Japan in the Far East, the question of our foreign trade, brought home to millions of Americans by continued unemployment, in part as a result of our loss of foreign markets. The titles of our first books were drawn from this list: *War Tomorrow—Will We Keep Out?*; *Made in U.S.A.*; *War Drums and Peace Plans*; and *America Contradicts Herself*—the story of our foreign policy. Today Headline Books are being sold in bookstores all over the United States, circulated in the public libraries, and used extensively in the classrooms of hundreds of our high schools, in church study groups, and in adult education classes. Last year nearly 200,000 copies were distributed.

Club programs and discussion outlines based on Headline Books have been prepared by the Foreign Policy Association, and with the aid of this material leaders of women's clubs in all parts of the country have organized series of meetings to discuss the vital problems of international relations. The FPA has also developed a student program. It grew out of the need of both students and teachers for non-partisan material on international affairs. During the past three years student membership, which permits high-school and college students to have access to the publications of the association at a price within the reach of their pocketbooks, has grown to over 1,300 members. In New York a series of student forums is held every year, where young people gather to exchange ideas and reach conclusions under the leadership of expert speakers.



# The Literature of Politics, 1935 and 1936

PHILLIPS BRADLEY

(continued from the March issue)

## FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

**T**HE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF DICTATORSHIPS. The past two years have been a period of increasing tension between antithetical ideas in thought and action. The challenge to democratic principles and methods by the dictatorships has been expressed in theory and pressed home in practice. Tensions in economic and social organization have magnified political contrasts which are themselves the product of varying conditions in the stability of life in the different countries. This ferment of ideas has been reflected in a growing literature about the experiments with dictatorship, whether of the Right or the Left. However sharp the contradictions in objectives between the two types now confronting each other with increasing armaments and exaggerated propaganda—and those contradictions are fundamental to an understanding of present alignments in Europe and the Far East—they are alike in their repudiation of the democratic way of life.

The most general brief account of the

history and rôle of dictatorship is Hermann Kantorowicz' pamphlet *Dictatorships*.<sup>39</sup> It includes an invaluable bibliography which covers twenty-five centuries of a recurring phenomenon. As yet no full-length survey of theory or practice has been attempted, but there are many useful studies of various dictatorships in action. Two of the most useful, since they cover several countries objectively—if that is possible for democrats to do—are *Dictatorship in the Modern World*<sup>40</sup> and *Propaganda and Dictatorship*<sup>41</sup> edited respectively by Guy Stanton Ford and Harwood L. Childs. The former analyzes the seizure and consolidation of power in half a dozen countries, the latter describes the processes by which popular loyalty is maintained or coerced.

A number of books deal with the tactics of dictatorship in various countries. By all odds the most thorough and convincing is Frederick L. Schuman's *The Nazi Dictatorship*.<sup>42</sup> Professor Schuman's study is based on personal acquaintance with the German scene, and an exhaustive use of original sources. Naturally critical, he has probed the premises and oratory of the Nazi revolution and analyzed with pitiless frankness the methods and purposes of its one-party government. He covers all aspects of the policies and program of the present régime, political, administrative, economic, and social. It is the best single book on the origins, nature, tactics, and designs of fascist

The first part of this article, which appeared in the March issue, was devoted to "Current Trends" and "The American Scene." In this issue the author, a professor of political science at Amherst College, deals with books on "Foreign Politics" and "International Relations."

<sup>39</sup> Cambridge, England: Heffer, 1936.

<sup>40</sup> Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1935.

<sup>41</sup> Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1936.

<sup>42</sup> New York: Knopf, 1935.

dictatorship in practice.<sup>43</sup> Two as comprehensive and searching appraisals have also appeared concerning Italy during the past two years. Gaetano Salvemini's *Italy Under the Axe of Fascism*<sup>44</sup> and Herman Finer's *Mussolini's Italy*,<sup>45</sup> the first written by an Italian liberal émigré, the second by one of the leading political scientists of England, leave no room for doubt as to the quality of fascist action or its results in terms of economic and social well being for the masses of the Italian people. One author speaks out of a long life in Italy and a passionate love of his country; the other, from intimate acquaintance and observation sharpened by objectivity. Striking contrasts between Italy and Germany in program and organization emerge from these books. A no less striking similarity in the tactic of terror, which these authors present with complete detachment, suggests the moral indifference of dictators everywhere to the values democracy was forged to preserve and enhance.

The monumental work of Beatrice and Sidney Webb, *Soviet Communism*,<sup>46</sup> ranges over all aspects of the Russian scene. It is valuable to an understanding of the first eighteen years of the first major experiment in socialism based on the "dictatorship of the proletariat." Criticisms have been leveled at the authors for an overoptimistic picture of conditions and an overindulgent use of favorable sources of information and

<sup>43</sup> As to the treatment of racial and religious dissidents in Germany, see Anonymous, *The Yellow Spot*. London: Knight, 1936; P. F. Douglass, *God Among the Germans*. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1935. Two interesting popular books dealing with the way dictatorships affect the life of their peoples are M. T. Florinsky's *Fascism and National Socialism*. New York: Macmillan, 1936, and E. Lengyel's *Millions of Dictators*. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1936. The former is based on considerable investigation and personal acquaintance with life in the two countries; it is especially interesting for its comparisons and contrasts between Germany and Italy. The latter is not very convincing, journalistic reporting of conversations and incidents in many European countries; what value it has is photographic.

<sup>44</sup> New York: Viking Press, 1936.

<sup>45</sup> New York: Holt, 1935.

<sup>46</sup> New York: Scribner, 1936.

data. But in the perspective of history it is more likely to stand out not only as an intellectual achievement of the first magnitude—both the authors are in their late seventies—but as the most accurate, as it is the most comprehensive, benchmark of soviet achievement during its first two decades. As a reference it is indispensable to teacher and student; and as a chart of terrain too little explored, whether of the Russian experiment or of techniques and objectives by which dictatorship may prove an effective instrument for the attainment of the general welfare, it is no less indispensable.

Democracy is by no means without its advocates and defenders. The most effective reply to the claims of efficiency in government often made for dictatorship is Robert C. Brooks' *Deliver Us from Dictators*.<sup>47</sup> Pungent, often sardonic, invested with humor and satire, the author disposes of these claims by an appeal to history past and present. It is about the most coherent and satisfactory defense of democracy which has appeared in a good while.<sup>48</sup>

**G**OVERNMENTS AT WORK. A number of general studies of foreign governments have been published during

<sup>47</sup> Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1935.

<sup>48</sup> Other books worth noting are E. M. Patterson, ed., *Socialism, Fascism and Democracy*. Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1935; C. D. Burns, *Challenge to Democracy*. New York: Norton, 1935; S. Everett, *Democracy Faces the Future*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1935; G. P. Gooch, *Dictatorship in Theory and Practice*. London: Watts, 1935; J. A. R. Marriott, *Dictatorship and Democracy*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1935; R. G. Tugwell, *The Battle for Democracy*. *ibid.*; E. D. Martin, *Farewell to Revolution*. New York: Norton, 1936. See also books listed about America, note 76.

One or two studies of the economic and social backgrounds of other states are useful additions to our present knowledge of experiments in change. H. C. Herring and H. Weinstock, *Renascent Mexico*. New York: Covici, Friede, 1935, is the best study of the "revolution" going on in that country. M. W. Childs, *Sweden, The Middle Way*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1936, describes the stability typical of the Scandinavian states. E. A. Peers, *The Spanish Tragedy*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1936, and H. Gannes and T. Repard, *Spain in Revolt*, New York: Knopf, 1936, portray the Spanish struggle for democracy since 1930. Right and left wing, both are marred by obvious bias.

the past two years. Henry R. Spencer's *Government and Politics Abroad*,<sup>49</sup> although designed as a text, is perhaps the most useful introduction to foreign governments now available. The author covers not only Europe (including Sweden and Switzerland) but Latin America and Japan. There is a short chapter dealing with international organizations. Two volumes,<sup>50</sup> edited by Raymond L. Buell with separate sections by different authors, cover all the European governments in greater detail; the section on Russia is perhaps the best brief account yet available of that government. An interesting project in brief accounts (about 125 pages), interpretive rather than exhaustive, of individual governments by specialists in each is a welcome innovation in texts. They provide the general reader as well as the student with an excellent introduction to an understanding of these governments at work.<sup>51</sup>

Besides these studies, few really distinguished studies of individual governmental institutions have appeared. Easily the most important is I. W. Jennings' *Cabinet Government*,<sup>52</sup> the first full-length account of the British cabinet system as it has evolved during the past century. It is impossible to summarize so unique and de-

finitive a study; to say that it will rank with Walter Bagehot is indeed an inadequate estimate, for British politics is incomparably more complex, and "customs" of the constitution more subtle, than when he wrote three-quarters of a century ago. Professor Jennings has illuminated a more diffused and intricate scene with a clarity and precision unrivalled since his great progenitor. In style as well as scholarship, it is a landmark in the art of scholarship.<sup>53</sup>

Of all the institutions of French politics the most interesting to Americans is the working of the committee system in the Chamber and Senate. R. K. Gooch's *The French Parliamentary Committee System*<sup>54</sup> can rightly be called definitive. The French committees today wield an influence over legislation comparable to that portrayed over fifty years ago in Congress by Woodrow Wilson in *Congressional Government* (1885). There are many interesting analogies and contrasts to be drawn between

<sup>49</sup> Several more specialized studies may be noted. A. B. Keith, the ablest if the most formal of the constitutional lawyers of the British empire, has condensed and rearranged much valuable material in *The Governments of the British Empire*. New York: Macmillan, 1935, and *The King and the Imperial Crown*. New York: Longmans, 1936. The latter is especially timely in retrospect; it provides a constitutional background for the "crisis" of 1936. H. J. Laski, I. W. Jennings, and W. A. Babson, ed., *A Century of Municipal Progress*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1936, contains interesting chapters by municipal officials and others in commemoration of the centennial of the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835.

There is a growing body of literature about the future of British government under fascism or socialism. Among the more important books are: by various authors, *The Next Five Years*. New York: Macmillan, 1935 (liberal); L. Amery, *A Forward View*, London: Bles, 1935 (conservative); H. R. G. Greaves, *Reactionary England*. London: Acorn Press, 1936 (socialist); O. Moseley, *Fascism for the Million*. London: Abbey Supplies, 1936 (fascist); J. Strachey, *The Coming Struggle for Power*. New York: Covici, Friede, 1935 (communist); A. Hutt, *This Final Crisis*. London: Gollancz, 1936 (communist); W. A. Rudlin, *Growth of Fascism in Great Britain*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1935 (socialist). In general, see F. A. Ogg, *English Government and Politics*. rev. ed., New York: Macmillan, 1936.

<sup>54</sup> New York: Appleton-Century, 1935; for a description of the origins and formation of the United Front see M. Thorez, *France To-day and the People's Front*. New York: International Publishers, 1936.

\* New York: Holt, 1936.

<sup>50</sup> *New Governments of Europe* (Germany, Russia, Italy, Spain, the Baltic states) and *Democratic Governments of Europe* (England, France, Switzerland). New York: Nelson, 1934 and 1935; see also the rev. ed. of W. F. Willoughby, *The Government of Modern States*. New York: Appleton-Century, 1936, a comparative, analytical study of structure and organization; W. E. Rappard, *A Source Book on European Governments*. New York: Van Nostrand, 1937, provides a useful collection of documentary materials; see also N. L. Hill and H. W. Stoke, *Background of European Governments*. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1935.

<sup>51</sup> W. E. Rappard, *The Government of Switzerland* and H. W. Schneider, *The Fascist Government of Italy*, both New York: Van Nostrand, 1936; S. N. Harper, *The Government of the Soviet Union*, J. K. Pollock, *The Nazi Government of Germany*, and W. R. Sharp, *The Government of the French Republic*, all New York: Van Nostrand, to be published.

<sup>52</sup> Cambridge, England: Cambridge Univ. Press and New York: Macmillan, 1936.



French and American legislative practice; this volume for the first time makes possible a comprehensive view of the power and procedure of French committees. Based on close personal observation and a thorough review of the authorities, it is a model of careful description and analysis.

Two recent studies of government in Germany are of special interest. Dr Fritz Ermarth's *The New Germany*<sup>55</sup> deals at first hand with both its political and economic phases. As an émigré he writes with an intimate acquaintance of, but with little explicit bias against, the Nazi régime. Dr Fritz Morstein Marx's *Government in the Third Reich*<sup>56</sup> is a more thorough and incisive study of the political structure, policies and procedures of the National Socialist state. Neither study is definitive; both are brief enough to give the teacher and student fresh insights into government under dictatorship.

#### INTERNATIONAL LAW AND RELATIONS

**L**AW. *Inter arma leges silent.* Yet, "on the rim of the abyss," the lawyers are not idle. International law is receiving, especially in the areas where policy seeks to break through the emergent legal restraints, increasing attention and undergoing significant development. Aside from the formal treatises<sup>57</sup> the problem of "collective security" is most intensively explored. A growing literature signifies the viability of the idea and the vitality of the search for its attainment.

The issue is closely related to the broader aspects of the foreign policies of the Great Powers; the resultant of the forces at present at work is not yet visible. Yet it is inevitable that in the long search for se-

curity, the efficacy of the legal framework will be one, if not the most important, test of its ultimate attainment. The present attention devoted to creating an adequate legal basis for its realization, in and out of the ambit of the League of Nations, is a welcome sign of progress toward the principle of an overhead agency for the maintenance of peace.<sup>58</sup>

**T**HE STAKES OF DIPLOMACY.<sup>59</sup> What makes nations fight? Of all the factors, the economic protrudes as a constant. The "idea of national interest" is usually traceable to some overt or covert advantage, real or assumed, which an important vested interest within a country seeks to obtain abroad. Of all the advantages—witness Germany's and Poland's current claims—the possession of colonies has been the most spectacular and the most pursued as a "pivot" of diplomacy. Not since John A. Hobson's classic study of *Imperialism* (1902) has so thorough an analysis been attempted as in Grover Clark's *A Place in the Sun* and *The Balance Sheets of Imperialism*.<sup>60</sup> The first is a critical review of the profit and loss account of the mother country from the possession of colonies; the second presents the economic data in precise and detailed statistical form. The author's conclusions are interesting: "Since 1880, however, the cash costs to the countries which have used force to get or keep

<sup>55</sup> The best brief surveys are by M. O. Hudson, *By Pacific Means*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1935; P. C. Jessup, *International Security*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1935; see also M. L. Bourquin, ed., *Collective Security*. New York: World Peace Foundation, 1936, where the opposing ideas of the democracies and dictatorships are portrayed; F. J. Berber, ed., *Locarno*. London: Hodge, 1936, is a documentary record of the origins, history, and defeat of that experiment; see also the books noted under "Is It War?" below.

<sup>56</sup> An invaluable introduction to the history of international relations from classical times to the present is F. M. Russell's *Theories of International Relations*. New York: Appleton-Century, 1936.

<sup>57</sup> New York: Macmillan and Columbia Univ. Press, respectively, 1936; compare O. W. Willcox, *Nations Can Live at Home*. New York: Norton, 1935.

<sup>58</sup> Washington: Digest Press, 1936.

<sup>59</sup> New York: McGraw-Hill, 1936; compare the books listed in note 51.

<sup>60</sup> The most distinguished contribution is the 5th ed. of L. F. L. Oppenheim's *International Law*. Vol. II, ed. by H. Lauterpacht, New York: Longmans, 1935. J. L. Brierly, *The Law of Nations*. 2nd ed., New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1936, is a brilliant introduction to the field for the layman.

control of colonies unquestionably have been very substantially more than any possible cash profits derived from the trade with the territories controlled. . . . If a conservatively estimated share of the general expenditures for defense be allocated to the colonies as their proper share of the overhead expenses of keeping up the nation's armed forces, the ledgers of the colonies show a large red-ink balance for every one of the principal colony-holding countries." Also "the struggles to get and keep colonies have been appallingly costly in suffering and money, both directly in the colonial parts of the world and indirectly in the home lands. The tangible profits which the nations have received or can receive from political control over the colonies cannot compensate the common people for all they have paid so that their governments might have that control and a few private interests might make money."

It is a major contribution to intelligent thinking about foreign policy to have a theory, over which much ink has been spilled, subjected to the cold and impersonal logic of the facts. Once colonialism is popularly realized as a formula for national insolvency—however much particular groups may profit from having their enterprises underwritten by the national budget and defense forces—one major prop of the war-mongers will be destroyed.

Our own major colonial experiment has undergone a profound change in the new policy toward the Philippines. Grayson L. Kirk's *Philippine Independence*<sup>61</sup> is a brilliant study of the origins, progress, and prospective results of that policy. He shows neither fear nor favor in exploring the motivations which induced the move in this country or in indicating the interests, Filipino and American, that stand to gain or lose by independence. It can fairly be

called the first thoroughly realistic and objective account of American colonial policy.

Beyond the colonial issue there loom the rival claims of the "haves" and "have-nots," the countries with large raw material reserves and those without them. There is an increasing body of literature dealing with all aspects of the problem and in every type of special pleading. It can best be followed in current literature and contemporary studies, some of which are thoroughly objective.<sup>62</sup>

A number of useful studies of the post-war policies of the major powers offer convenient summaries of their pursuit of these and other stakes of diplomacy. Of these the most comprehensive is Frank H. Simonds' and Brooks Emeny's *The Great Powers in World Politics*.<sup>63</sup> The authors' thesis is the irreconcilability of the rival claims of states differently endowed with self-sufficiency and each seeking to build an expanding capitalist economy by stimulating nationalism, social as well as economic. After a consideration of the geographic position, population and racial complexion, and resources of the different countries, they trace their present-day foreign policies. They conclude with a description of the efforts since the Great War to create a world organization capable of maintaining peace between uneasy rivals. They point to the fact that the problem of peace today and tomorrow will be decided on questions not of ethnic self-determination but of economic self-

\*The most accurate and useful materials are to be obtained from the Foreign Policy Association (especially *Foreign Policy Reports and Current Affairs Pamphlets*), 8 West 40th Street, New York City; for the Pacific area and the Far East, consult the Institute of Pacific Relations, 129 East 52nd Street, New York City; bibliographies and references on many topics of current interest in international relations can be obtained on request.

\*New York: American Book, 1935; see also R. P. Dutt, *World Politics 1918-1936*. New York: Random House, 1936, for an incisive and well documented left-wing survey. It is interesting that the conclusions of the two books approximate each other, though the American book is written from a liberal viewpoint.

\*New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1936; see also Justice G. A. Malcolm's *The Commonwealth of the Philippines*. New York: Appleton-Century, 1936, for a more general and less critical account of the problems of American-Filipino relations.

sufficiency. Topical though it is, this is certainly the most adequate presentation of the basic factors in contemporary international relations. The illustrative maps, charts, and tables enhance its usefulness as reference or text.<sup>64</sup>

As to recent American foreign policy, a brilliant synthesis has been achieved by Frank H. Simonds in his *American Foreign Policy in the Post-War Years*.<sup>65</sup> He draws together all the threads of our diplomacy, war debts and tariffs, rejections of the League and efforts for disarmament, trade promotion and capital export policy in Latin America and the Far East, and he gives them unity in a pattern woven out of an expanding capitalism functioning in an increasingly nationalistic world. In 170 pages he crystallizes a confused and confusing period in our diplomacy and applies the litmus paper of unsentimental criticism for the testing of its inconsistency and contradictions. It is likely to remain for a long time the most searching and intelligible appraisal of the past fifteen years.

The most important current problem of American foreign policy is the nature and form of our insurance against involvement in a future war. The revelations of the Nye committee regarding interlocking relationships between munitions, other war material industry, and finance, twenty years ago, has stimulated effort to prevent the same thing again. "Isolationist" sentiment has succeeded in enacting temporary legislation, which, however, leaves many issues of policy and its implementation highly inferential. The question has received extensive treatment and remains a fundamental question on which a public opinion is still in the making.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Invaluable—and revealing—insights into current world politics can be gleaned from several of the recent journalistic anabases, especially John Gunther's *Inside Europe*. New York: Harper, 1936, and J. T. Whitaker's *And Fear Came*. New York: Macmillan, 1936.

<sup>65</sup> Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1935; the best recent diplomatic history is S. F. Bemis, *Diplomatic History of the United States*. New York: Holt, 1936.

<sup>66</sup> A very considerable body of literature has grown

## INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION.

One way to dilute international disputes over the stakes of diplomacy is to regularize consultation among the interested parties. The League of Nations, the International Labor Office, the Permanent Court of International Justice were set up on a base more stable in hope than in fact. The impact of fact on hope during the past fifteen years has been incisively reviewed by Sir Alfred Zimmern in his *League of Nations and the Rule of Law*.<sup>67</sup> Himself an architect of the League of Nations, Zimmern has contributed a mature interpretation of its political origins and activities. The absence of a critical evaluation of the economic forces which have impinged on the area of its functions as an agency for keeping the peace diminishes this otherwise magistral survey of the League's record.<sup>68</sup>

The turning point in the effectiveness of the League in suppressing aggression will no doubt be viewed in retrospect as the

up in this field during the past year or two. The following selective list is indicative of the major trends: E. W. Crecraft, *Freedom of the Seas*. New York: Appleton-Century, 1935 (isolationist laissez faire as to neutrality); A. W. Dulles and H. F. Armstrong, *Can We Be Neutral?* New York: Harper, 1936 (trade-at-risk, mild restrictionist); P. C. Jessup, *Neutrality, Today and Tomorrow*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1936 (co-operationist as to collective security, restrictionist as to trade, with useful bibliography); P. Bradley, *Can We Stay out of War?* New York: Norton, 1936 (co-operationist with reservation, strongly restrictionist as to trade). For semiofficial statements on the post-war foreign policies of other countries, see: various authors, *The Foreign Policies of the Powers*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1935. The most penetrating recent study, especially of British foreign policy is Graham Hutton's *Is It Peace?* New York: Macmillan, 1936.

<sup>67</sup> New York: Macmillan, 1936.

<sup>68</sup> The membership of the United States in the International Labor Organization makes Spencer Miller, ed., *What the International Labor Organization Means to America*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1936, timely and informative. As fascist alternative to post-war efforts at international solidarity, see G. de Michelis, *World Reorganization on Corporative Lines*. New York: Adelphi, 1935. An example of what can be accomplished in the technical administration of what until recently was treated as a function of high political potential is L. C. Tombs' *International Organization in European Air Transport*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1936.



Japanese adventure in Manchuria in 1932. It was certainly the point of closest collaboration in a common cause between this country and the members of the League. That episode has been reviewed without rancor or vituperation but with an impressive marshalling of the facts of American initiative and foreign hesitations by the then secretary of state, Henry L. Stimson, in the *Far Eastern Crisis*.<sup>69</sup> No study of a post-war "incident" is so forthright, penetrating, unequivocal as this revealing and impartial case study. Mr Stimson's modesty prevents the emergence of his own conspicuous contribution—tragically frustrated by the inaction or self-interest of the powers—to what was still a possible and a positive effort at the redirection of policy toward collective security.

**IS IT WAR?** Many a plan for peace<sup>70</sup> has come from the presses during the past two years. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the discussion is the increasing awareness that machinery is not enough, that the spirit of man and of men in national states requires redirection to common, not competitive, ends. Certainly the most impressive of these attacks upon the problem of war, from the pen of a man perhaps better acquainted with the statesmen and their policies during the past forty years than anyone living, is Henry Wickham Steed's *Vital Peace*.<sup>71</sup> From a rich background of personal observation he chal-

lenges the framers of programs to think in terms of the needs and hopes of a Great Society. His argument is principally psychological. To him "vital peace" is much more than a state of "non-war," it is a dynamic design looking to objectives beyond current expedients of foreign or of domestic policy in the European states. His indictment is as much of the pseudo-liberal statesman at home as of the diplomats around the green table. If peace is to be won, it will be along the lines of this searching and vigorous project for a positive strategy of peace.

If war is to come, it will be in Europe, at least, a totalitarian war. General Erich Ludendorff has sketched what that will be like for the men, women, and children of every country in his *The Nation at War*.<sup>72</sup> It is not a pleasant picture; nor is it universal. Our own problem of defense has been subjected to careful and critical scrutiny by a former chief of staff, Major General Johnson Hagood. His *We Can Defend America*<sup>73</sup> disposes of the scare-mongers on the one hand and, on the other, presents an indisputable case for a defense system limited to the needs for territorial security. To the current pressures for a larger and more expensive army, navy, and air force, he offers precise and incontrovertible data as to the necessary means and effective organization of our national defenses to insure us immunity from attack. He is reminiscent of Admiral Mahan in the sweep and cogency of his analysis: from almost diametrically opposed premises about national safety and territorial-trade expansion, he outlines what should become the basic principles of American policy in

<sup>69</sup> New York: Harper, 1936; for a detailed account of the League's part in the crisis W. W. Willoughby, *The Sino-Japanese Controversy and the League of Nations*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1935; see also J. T. Shotwell, *On the Rim of the Abyss*. New York: Macmillan, 1936.

<sup>70</sup> For the trenchant, brief study from a liberal-labor viewpoint see F. Williams, *Plan for Peace*. London: Methuen, 1936.

<sup>71</sup> New York: Macmillan, 1936; compare C. R. Buxton, *The Alternative to War*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1936, by a member of Parliament with long experience of diplomacy and colonial administration, whose premises and conclusions correspond closely to Steed's; for a general survey of the issues involved in peace or war today E. E. Patterson, "The Attainment and Maintenance of World Peace," *Annals*, July, 1936.

<sup>72</sup> London: Hutchinson, 1936. Required reading for every member of a general staff—and citizen—here and abroad, should be B. W. Knight's *How to Run a War*. New York: Knopf, 1936. Voltairian in design, he exposes the contradictions in modern war with a mordant satire.

<sup>73</sup> New York: Doubleday, 1937; see also W. Millis, *The Future of Sea Power in the Pacific*. New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1935, the most objective study yet made of the problem of defense in that area.

a war-torn world. No more valuable contribution to an informed public opinion on the relations of foreign policy to defense has been made since the war.

Quincy Wright's *The Causes of War and the Conditions of Peace*<sup>74</sup> provides in 125 pages the most objective and comprehensive perspective of war as an "institution." One of the oldest forms of social action during the past four or five hundred years, it has become not only more destructive but less frequent. A cyclical periodicity, representing, on the one hand, the material exhaustion resulting from a large-scale "totalitarian" war, and, on the other, its emotional repudiation by one generation (which must be replaced by a second unacquainted at first hand with its incidence) has been noted by the author. But battles and casualties have enormously increased. Moreover, "the rôle of strictly military operations in war has tended to decrease . . . [and] while the social significance of war has increased, the rôle of war as an instrument of world politics has tended to decline." Economic objectives, not susceptible of attainment through war, make, therefore, the conditions of peace increasingly significant. The author has outlined the principal social, economic, and organizational factors for a durable peace. As an outline of the basic problem facing the world today, this brief but trenchant volume is unsurpassed.

#### POLITICAL THEORY—THE TEST OF ACTION<sup>75</sup>

**B**EHIND practice lies the dynamic of those inarticulate major premises which govern action. At times theory precedes change experimentally to chart the course

<sup>74</sup> New York: Longmans, 1935.

<sup>75</sup> Several recent historical studies of political theory are of more than ordinary interest. H. J. Laski's *The Rise of Liberalism*. New York: Harper, 1936, traces the emergence of the liberal-democratic idea in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is the most important original contribution to an understanding of the evolution of theory made in many years. Thomas I. Cook's *History of Political Philosophy*. New York:

of policy; at others, it follows to justify the seizure and exercise of power. The present is a period in which both processes are occurring simultaneously. The latter use of theory to buttress power is seen in the argument, already noted, for and against the principle of dictatorship. In the American scene, the argument is proceeding along both lines.<sup>76</sup>

Three books stand out as landmarks in current thought about the future of democracy. H. J. Laski's *The State in Theory and Practice*<sup>77</sup> carries that author's analysis, with all his brilliance of style and penetration of perception, to the logical conclusion toward which his own thought has steadily run. From a pioneer pluralist in his advocacy of a devolution of sovereignty to the many associations, social and economic, within the state he has become a monist with a conviction of the inevitability of unified control at the center of authority. Whether democratic principles and procedures can survive the impact of centralization of power appears to him dubious; the claims of competing interests, impatient of restraint, may drive the state to a naked authoritarianism in

Prentice-Hall, 1936, covers the field from Plato to Burke with refreshing originality and a keen sense of the relativity of theory to the social-economic environment; S. M. Rosen in his *Modern Individualism*. New York: Harper, 1936, considers the nineteenth century protagonists of that doctrine and explores its application to some contemporary problems.

<sup>76</sup> The vitality of American reaction to crisis is illustrated by the wealth of books which have turned the searchlight of varying opinion on the problems confronting us. Such books as M. A. Hallgren's *Seeds of Revolt*. New York: Knopf, 1935; G. V. Seldes' *Mainland*. New York: Scribner, 1936; J. P. Warburg's *It's Up to Us*. New York: Knopf, 1935; H. P. Long's *My First Days in the White House*. New York: Telegraph Press, 1935; R. G. Swing's *Forerunners of American Fascism*. New York: Messner, 1935, are suggestive of the ferment of the past few years. Sinclair Lewis' *It Can't Happen Here*. New York: Doubleday, 1935, is at once a warning and a doom, a document of first-rate historical importance. Alternative philosophies for the future are presented in Lawrence Dennis' *The Coming of American Fascism*. New York: Harper, 1936, a left-liberal "revolt of the middle classes"; E. R. Browder's *What Is Communism?* New York: Vanguard, 1936.

<sup>77</sup> New York: Viking Press, 1935.

which the ancient liberties will be submerged. Trenchant, lucid, courageous, the book provides rich materials for thought and argument. In no sense final in a shifting climate of opinion, it presents alternatives which the democratic state must resolve. George H. Soule's *The Future of Liberty*<sup>78</sup> applies the dilemma directly to current American controversies. It is essentially an argument for a planned economy in which the technician in control of industry collaborates with the administrator in charting and achieving the general welfare. Instead of leaving the economic system in irresponsible control of the essential liberties in a machine culture, he would substitute an orderly regulation of the industrial system in favor of community rather than class interest. Somewhat uncritical of the actual procedures of the socialist alternative to a laissez faire economy as exemplified by Russia, it is nevertheless most acute appraisal of the problem yet produced in America. Finally, T. V. Smith's *The Promise of American Politics*<sup>79</sup>

<sup>78</sup> New York: Macmillan, 1936.

is an augury of the revival of a militant democratic faith and practice. The author, a Texan by birth and a philosopher by profession, has won and held a seat in the Illinois senate from a district in which over half his constituents are Negroes. That, in itself, is a challenging experiment in democracy; out of it he views with a quiet confidence, and presents with an incisive argument, the survival of democracy as the only ultimately valid principle. Its ideal is "to procure tolerance by reliance upon prudence and pride—prudence because others are not required to let one alone unless he lets them alone; pride because one cannot fully respect himself unless he allows others what he claims for himself. Its basic social ideal is tolerance; its fundamental moral ideal is happiness; and its nearest approach to a factual foundation is its implied assertion that each man as a man is as good as any other."

It is out of such a faith as is here portrayed with insight and acumen that the future of American politics will be forged.

<sup>79</sup> Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1936.



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# Have You Read?

KATHARINE ELIZABETH CRANE

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**P**ERHAPS readers of two articles in the March issue of the *National Geographic Magazine* may find comfort in reminders that a conscious world of men has watched wearily through many anxious years, generations, and centuries of change and peril. One is Maynard Owen Williams' "Time's Footprints in Tunisian Sands," with pictures as living records from the new streamlined railway cars back to an ancient statue of Eros shipped by Sulla, lost at sea two thousand years ago, and found by a modern sponge diver. "But Tunis, no mere curiosity shop, lives in the present." With its fertile vineyards and olive groves between the Sahara Desert and the sea, and lying across a strait from Sicily, "it almost divides the Mediterranean into two great lakes. . . . Another Punic War, this time economic, is on." The other article is "Imperial Rome Reborn" by John Patric. In the pictures the new crowds the old, and the old the new, with a poignancy fresh though not unexpected. "Empires have fallen. This one—and this one alone—has risen again."

## SPAIN

**D**EADLOCK in Spain continues, and in the present state of newsgathering and newsprinting we are in a good deal of doubt as to the conditions that actually obtain today. We can have even less knowledge of what will happen tomorrow. In the March issue of the *Review of Reviews* Roger Shaw suggests "Several Spains?" as a possible way to end the civil and international war in Spain. "It has begun to appear as though

conflicting sides—loyalists and rebels—are so evenly matched that neither can oust the other as the long struggle becomes increasingly dangerous for Spaniards and outsiders alike." His suggestion is to divide the country along the lines now held by the combatants, roughly a north and south line cutting the country into halves at Madrid, with the western part to the Rebels and the eastern to the Loyalists. This would seem to be hard on the Basques on the Bay of Biscay, pious Catholics but ardent Loyalists, and also on Catalonia with her capital city of Barcelona, whose hope is to obtain a privileged autonomous position. Yet in all the circumstances Shaw thinks that "hopeless wars have seen worse solutions."

The *Nation* for February 27, on the other hand, points out that "Loyalist Fortunes Shone Brighter" in Spain. An agreement to ban foreign volunteers seems to have been reached. "The undisciplined loyalist militia of the early days of the war have evidently been forged into an army of hardened fighters." "On the military front the Loyalists have met and repulsed the most savage attacks of the war." Victory may follow.

Three articles in the *Living Age* for March are grouped under the title "Below the Pyrenees." J. B. S. Haldane, the English scientist, records his impressions of Loyalist stamina and courage seen during a visit to Madrid. "The citizens of Madrid have put themselves under a voluntary discipline. They believe that their efforts and sacrifices will mean the death of Fascism, and the birth of a new social order." G. H.

Keeling has another tale to tell. With four other members of Parliament he visited, in a private capacity, the part of Spain held by the Insurgents. "We were impressed with the orderly state of the country under Franco's rule. We saw nothing to support the statement that his rebellion has reduced the country to chaos. . . . Trade is open and free, and there is no shortage of food. . . . It is not true that the civil population is being kept under control by violence." The third of this group of articles, by Pierre La Mazière, deals with the effect of the war on little Portugal, since the Spanish Popular Front believes the two countries should be united. "Portugal's fate is being decided on Spain's battlefields. . . . A Loyalist victory means the end of Portugal's independence, for she is incapable of defending herself." With her great colonial possessions she would fall into the power of Spain. On the other hand Portugal is aware of the fact that, even if the Insurgents win, she may be destroyed. The victorious Insurgents may decide to pay off their indebtedness to Germany and Italy by the gift of Portugal's colonies!

#### NEUTRALITY AND ARMAMENTS

**S**EVEN billion and a half dollars will be spent by Great Britain for war preparation during the next five years. As Elmer Davis explains in "England's Weak Spot" in *Harpers* for March, Great Britain's position is exposed. The great city of London, with one-fifth of the country's population and one-fourth of its tangible wealth, is the economic and social, as well as political, capital of England and of the British Commonwealth; and London lies within two hours flight of the German frontier and within gunshot of the French channel coast. Our problem seems more simple.

In the March issue of the *Atlantic* Walter Lippmann discusses "War in a Collectivist World." "In any event the dominant fact in the contemporary world is the return of the European and Asiatic great powers to the conception of total war." The term

total may be used "as distinguished from limited war. These are not fought for tangible stakes, say the unification of a national state, or the acquisition of an Alsace-Lorraine or an African colony. In total war the issue is complete supremacy, the power to settle controversy by superior force." If this then is accepted as the fact about our modern wars, no lasting peace can be expected without the destruction, as a great power, of one or the other of the opposing countries, as were Carthage, Spain, and Holland destroyed. There may be intervals of peace, while the parties to the struggle recuperate their forces, rearm, and form new alignments; but a renewal of hostilities is inevitable.

Lippmann believes that this fact "needs to be thoroughly understood, for otherwise the effort to preserve the peace is doomed not only to be frustrated but actually to augment the violence and frequency of wars. A pacifist movement which has not clearly grasped the essential difference between the era of the total war in which we find ourselves and the era of limited wars which preceded it will merely confuse and disorganize the peoples who are in mortal danger and thereby invite the aggressors to proceed."

**I**S the United States going to enter the great armament race? Will she try to run neck and neck with Great Britain? Or to overtake her and her seven billion and a half dollars? "Britain's Navy—and Others" in the *New Republic* of March 3 points out that, on the basis of population, a corresponding outlay by the United States would amount to the staggering total of twenty-two billion dollars. Indeed it is time to decide, as this article urges, whether "we intend to live at peace and mind our own business? If so, what sort of military system and what size is best calculated to implement that policy?" Yet what is our business? What constitutes a proper neutrality? What constitutes proper and sufficient armament in this troubled world?

PLANS and opinions on the questions of neutrality and armament, war and peace, actually discussed in print are only just less numerous than the plans and opinions that never get into print. *Forum* is from month to month printing the views of various well-known men and women on "How to Stay Out of War." This month the writers are H. M. Kallen, Thomas Midgely, Jr., D. F. Fleming, Eugene Staley, Hamilton Holt, Josephine Schain, Ray Lyman Wilbur, E. D. Ryder, and Henry A. Wallace. Other magazines print similar lists and opinions. The air is full of argument and discussion. Doubtless the everyday citizen can not expect to have the skill and the information to arrive at really competent judgments on matters so intricate, so technical, and so much confused by contradictory evidence. Nevertheless he must, by some kind of an intellectual or emotional process, arrive at a working program for his own guidance; and for his own intellectual integrity as well as for the good of the body politic it seems best that he should strive to arrive at his conclusions by the intellectual rather than the emotional route. In the March 10 issue of the *New Republic* Charles A. Beard offers a discussion of "Why Did We Go to War?" which, I think, is, with certain modifications, almost equally applicable to any discussion of why we shall enter any future war or indeed to any other question of prophetic or historical controversy. After two pages of discussion of the problems involved he says: "But amid the many certainties, remains unanswered and, in my belief, forever unanswerable, the question: Why did we go to war?"

Bruce Bliven in "The Future of Foreign Policy," in the *New Republic* of February 24, suggests certain considerations that seem to bear on the situation with which we are confronted. "A question of overwhelming importance that receives far less attention than it deserves is whether the future interests of this country are best served by actively encouraging foreign trade and in-

vestment or by keeping our money and goods at home." His discussion of "Keeping Out of Europe," "The Answer to Fascism," "Disappointments at Buenos Aires," "The Far East," "Neutrality," and "A Possible Program" leaves him with the "guess" that, if a major war breaks out in Europe, the peace sentiment already in the United States will be just about strong enough to keep us neutral for ten months or a year but not longer, unless active propaganda for peace on an unprecedented scale is undertaken and is successful.

ONE of the latest *Foreign Policy Reports*, (February 15, published by the Foreign Policy Association, 8 West 40th Street, New York, at twenty-five cents) is "The Rising Tide of Armament" by William T. Stone and Helen Fisher. This pamphlet deals with the rearmament programs of the seven great powers, Germany and Italy whose armament expenditures for the current years are unpublished, Japan who spends for armaments 46.6 per cent of her budget, France who spends 29.7 per cent, the Soviet Union with a percentage of 20.7, Great Britain with 20 per cent, and the United States with something more than 12.912 per cent of her budget laid out on armaments. Since this study appeared Great Britain has announced its greatly increased program of expenditure, and the pace of the whole armament race has swung up another notch. Earlier *Foreign Policy Reports* have concerned themselves with this general problem. Of these, two especially gather together a good deal of the factual material necessary for adequate judgment, "The Increasing Burden of Armaments" by William T. Stone and David H. Popper (October 24, 1934) and "The National Defense Policy of the United States" by William T. Stone (August 31, 1932). The latter pamphlet is historical and analytical and includes some pertinent criticism by professional military experts of the theory of the "nation in arms" and the mobilization of the na-



tion's entire population and resources for the support of the army. "Military experts in a number of countries have begun to ask whether great mass armies as developed in the last war are capable of achieving tactical results, or whether they inevitably defeat their own object." If that is true then it is undesirable to maintain the present organization of our army as a skeleton on which to organize for actual war the entire man power of the country. Instead the regular army ought to be a small highly mechanized force, equipped with tanks and such vehicles as will facilitate its movement with great swiftness and make it independent of roadways already made.

THE *Nation* for February 27 has a four-part formula for "How to Stay Out of War." "(1) A mandatory embargo should be imposed on munitions, basic war materials, loans, and credits to belligerents. (2) The President should be empowered to lift these restrictions, except the embargo on munitions, in case the majority of signatories of the Kellogg pact find that a country has been attacked in violation of that pact. (3) Munition industries should be nationalized, and the Nye proposals for limiting war profits passed. (4) Our national-defense policy should be revised to provide only for the protection of the continental United States, with an understanding that the roots of our present policy lie deep in the inequalities of our social and economic structure."

Bernard M. Baruch's "Neutrality and Common Sense" in the March issue of the *Atlantic Monthly* comes to rather different conclusions. The author begins with a working definition of "freedom of the seas," its violation by both sides and its relation to our part in the World War, and the present lack of any settlement of the question. It is our historical position, but it is possible to abandon it now in the interests of a cash-and-carry policy. "Whether, and to what extent, we want to do it is a ques-

tion of how far we are willing to go for peace at any price." Then he examines some of the present proposals to "keep out of war," by restrictive sale of goods, by selling no war material, by selling only to the innocent party. He asks whether such courses would not be essentially hostile acts, and his answer is that, since such a withholding of supplies might mean the difference between victory and defeat to nations at war, "it is not neutrality—it will not keep us out of war." Moreover he thinks it might prove impossible to maintain the prohibition of the sale of cotton or wheat, for instance, with "half our farmers . . . threatened with bankruptcy." As for the other motive of discouraging wars—of punishing nations that go to the war—he thinks it "may be a very high ideal, but it isn't keeping out of war. . . . It is automatically getting into any important war that starts anywhere."

As for lending money he agrees that "we should be financially interested in no belligerent." As for refusing to sell warlike weapons he thinks the only reasonable ground on which to base such a refusal is that "we don't want to be in that bloody business."

In the end he points out that "other nations in a death struggle for existence are going to respect the rights of innocent bystanders only to the extent that they do not dare infringe them. . . . Whatever rights we intend to assert we must be willing to defend by force of arms."

TO arrive at his own conclusions I think the American citizen might profitably ask himself for each country and each commodity, "What would be the effect on Germany's war preparations and on her willingness actually to enter war (or England's, or Italy's, or France's, or that of any of the rest), if she were assured that the United States would cease to sell all goods to herself, to her allies, and to her enemies? If the United States would sell goods only on the cash-and-carry basis? If the United

States would sell and deliver everything but munitions? It might be helpful in deciding the answers to these questions to consider what was, historically, the effect of the embargo on arms in the recent Ethiopian war.

#### A LEAGUE OF NATIONS?

THE inquiring American citizen might also read "Background of War. I: British Foreign Policy" in *Fortune* of March. Its own subtitle is "Performance of an Empire which has avoided four wars in the last four years at the cost of a shattered peace system, a stolen Asiatic dominion, a conquered African kingdom, a ravished European republic—and a rearmed, blustering foe." It begins with the statement of two reasons for acute American interest in Britain's predicament. The first is that the record since the rise of Hitler is a record of British failure and humiliation, "such as Americans have always followed with a certain brotherly satisfaction." The second reason is that, as fascism extends itself in Europe, America becomes more convinced that Great Britain and France are outworks of defence for its own democracy.

The story of Great Britain's twistings and turnings now over this crisis and now that is told with truth and humor. "Britain has stood on two sides at least of every important question." "The amazing inconsistencies of the Foreign Office can be reduced to consistency on the single consistent purpose to avoid war. War has certainly been avoided," but only by inconsistencies within that very purpose of avoiding war.

Nevertheless the author has faith to believe that at the very end of the road the British people, "as distinguished from certain members of the British ruling class" stand with a clearer understanding of their own ultimate purposes and with a knowledge of what must be done to attain them. As a result of the Spanish war they are convinced that "the new Germany is

stronger and more ruthless than the old" and that "the sympathies of the present government are not sympathies which can be trusted to defend them from that menace." They "have made up their minds that the future peace of the democracies of the world depends on some sort of organized defense against aggressors, some sort of policed security." The article points to the colossal British armament program; it quotes Eden's statement in Parliament that, although armament is indispensable to the national objective, the real objective "remains the negotiation of a European settlement, and the strengthening of the authority of the League"; and it comments that Eden's words "may be truth."

#### DOMESTIC STRIFE

"THIS Recovery" by George Soule in the March issue of *Harpers Magazine* marks the comfortable point in business recovery at which begins the argument about what caused the recovery. On the basis of the recent bulletin "Production During the American Business Cycle of 1927-1933" written by Wesley C. Mitchell and Arthur F. Burns and published through the National Bureau of Economic Research, the author sets forth the findings concerning the periods of the two troughs of depression and concerning the upward curves of recovery. We hope this is the beginning of a long, acrimonious argument carried on in the leisure of our prosperity and entirely uninterrupted by any threat of the recurrence of the organic or functional disease of depression. Yet the author warns us that "there is no reason whatever to expect that the new prosperity, if we have it, will be eternal."

JOHN L. LEWIS and his conception of the organization of labor bid fair to change, for better or for worse, certain fundamentals in our world. His weapon of attack has been, of course, the sit-down strike. "Is the Sit-Down Strike Unfair?" is the *New Republic's* discussion of that

question on February 17. "The sit-down strike is not illegal. It is so new that no existing law has any relevance in regard to it. . . . The sit-down strike is here to stay, and industry would be well advised to come to terms with it. . . . Modern industry, through technological advance, has itself created conditions under which its workers can no longer be treated as abject serfs." The *New Republic* thinks that "if the managers were really intelligent . . . they would make the decision their fellow industrialists in Great Britain made a quarter of a century ago. They would accept collective bargaining, would help the process instead of hindering it, and would agree to American standards of life for American workers."

Lewis with his plans to organize labor by industries instead of by crafts is in the midst of a great drive. In the March issue of *Forum* Louis Adamic discusses "John L. Lewis' Push for Power," the man, his purposes, and his relation to the national situation. The article is interesting and able, and it arrives at some sympathetic conclusions. On the other hand, in "The Industrial Front" in the March *Atlantic*, George E. Sokolsky, whose philosophy has steadily worked its way around from Left to Right writes that "at the present moment, management is faced with the possibility of a protracted strike in the mass-production industries, involving perhaps four million men, not for better wages or working conditions, but to test whether John Lewis is to be recognized as the Dictator of American industry. . . . As a matter of fact, if management accepts Lewis, it abdicates that leadership in industry which it must assume if the country is again to be prosperous."

#### CIVIL SERVICE

**A** GOVERNMENT embarked on a program of expansion and control may well look to its civil service. In the March issue of *Scribner's* Leonard D. White, for the last four years one of the

three federal civil service commissioners, describes "Careers in Government." His interest here is in the details of possible openings and necessary training; and he does not go into the larger aspects of government policy, existing political pressure and control, and possibilities of rendering civil service standards and laws operative.

#### MOVIES

**"H**OLLYWOOD Takes Over the Theatre" by Arthur Hopkins, also in the March copy of *Scribner's*, traces, with pictures, the moving-pictures from the nickelodeon to Radio City. It ought to be interesting both to those who remember sitting on camp chairs watching the flickering, jerky screen and to those whose memories began yesterday but will not end until the present talking pictures themselves in their turn seem strange and undeveloped. The article represents part of the social history of a development that may serve as a touchstone by which to test certain qualities of the times that are gone, and, in their own good time, qualities of the times that are to come.

Another article on the movies, with lavish pictures and an engaging sense of humor, is "Paramount" in the March issue of *Fortune*. Its subtitle is descriptive, "Or, the Wonderful Lamp, Zukor mastered it, Kuhn, Loeb overworked it, John Hertz pummeled it, bankruptcy dissected it, Wall Street rubbed it the wrong way; yet now it is magicking again—more than \$5,000,000 from thin air last year." Wholly interesting as an analysis of one of the eight great film companies, it also offers some information as to what constitutes the essential difference between wealth and bankruptcy, for a company and a people. "No movie studio can be efficient in the assembly-line sense of the term. It is not a factory as much as a series of delicate psychological adjustments. How delicate appears from the fact that Zukor has virtually reorganized Paramount production by making no visible changes whatever."



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## NOTES AND NEWS

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### NEW ORLEANS

THE National Council for the Social Studies, which is the Department of Social Studies of the National Education Association, met at New Orleans on February 20.

The first of the four sessions was devoted to "The Social Studies in the New Curriculum," especially in the South. Fremont P. Wirth of the George Peabody College for Teachers presided.

Mrs Mary Lee Denham of the Louisiana State University described recent changes in Louisiana. The "elementary program provides for understanding of the basic principle of community life and the need of mankind for food, clothing, and shelter. It offers an enriched course in geography and history and civics, giving a full course in American history in the last year." In the secondary schools ten subjects are variously found: Vocations, Commercial and Industrial Geography, Civics, Early European History, Modern European History, General or World History, American History, Problems of Democracy, and Sociology, of which at least two are required and as many as six permitted. There is room for considerable flexibility. Last summer a group of teachers began the study of curriculum revision at Louisiana State University; the enterprise, which is continuing through the school year, will be carried on over an extended period.

Fred C. Ayer of the University of Texas declared that the outstanding curriculum change of the present decade is the rise of the social studies to a major position. He

noted that although many educators would now assign a dominant rôle to the social studies, others, "including probably the majority of classroom teachers," have doubts that the social studies can attain the objectives claimed for them. He listed seven weaknesses of the present program: competition between history and the other social studies; unwise efforts to subordinate other studies; over-emphasis on adult interests and values; failure to recognize that pupils are more interested in individual than in social progress; failure to develop a generally accepted social-science curriculum, either through sequence or integration; undue emphasis on the creation of a new social order; and, "probably most important of all," lack of qualified teachers. Mr Ayer sketched the experimental program of Texas, stressing its flexibility, which is gained by leaving much to the local units.

The Mississippi social-studies program was discussed by O. I. Frederick of the University of Mississippi. A state-wide co-operative revision of the curriculum is now in its third year, advanced by summer work in curriculum laboratories and by local and county meetings guided by a state bulletin on curriculum-planning. It is now suggested that "approximately one-half of the school day extending through the entire period of elementary and secondary education be devoted to the development of social understanding and understanding of the physical environment," which accordingly constitute the core curriculum. This "will involve subject matter from all fields

and will be organized around aspects of life which are really functional in nature. As pupils become more mature, however, and their interests become somewhat specialized, the tendency will be to give special emphasis to the social studies and science, with English correlated with the two." One-fourth of the day through the ninth grade would be devoted to such skills as reading, writing, speaking, and the effective use of numbers, with the remaining quarter set aside, through the sixth year, for recreational and æsthetic activities, which would be provided for in electives or clubs thereafter. One-fourth of the day in junior high school, and one-half in senior, are thus reserved for electives—for special interests and aptitudes, for academic subjects, or for vocational training.

The core curriculum is organized around nine "areas of human activity": protecting life and health, making a home, conserving and improving material conditions, co-operating in social and civic action, getting a living, securing an education, expressing religious impulses, expressing æsthetic impulses, and engaging in recreation. Professor Frederick also outlined the grade sequence of material, and indicated how social science is used in the program.

J. Paul Leonard of the College of William and Mary analyzed the Virginia social-studies curriculum. His paper, stressing the citizenship objective and the practical needs of Virginia pupils, and outlining a core curriculum organized around areas of social life which have been continuously common to man, will appear in an early issue of *Social Education*, as will the paper in which Henry Kronenberg of the University of Arkansas discussed the Virginia and other state programs.

At the luncheon session, over which Edgar B. Wesley presided, Howard E. Wilson urged that "A Community Approach to Social Education" has become very necessary in the large communities of the present day, in which young pupils often remain entirely ignorant of neighboring

sections and conditions. Pupils should become acquainted with nearby cultural and vocational possibilities, should gain a sense of the pattern of community existence, should acquire objectivity towards the community, and should become interested in its improvement. Mr Wilson suggested the use of historical, geographical and comparative approaches, and cited examples of the effective use of trips, surveys, and local history.

The afternoon session, at which G. W. McGinty of the Louisiana Polytechnic Institute presided, considered the Seventh Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies, *Education against Propaganda*. Isaac S. Heller of the New Orleans Board of Education described the use of the radio by the late Senator Huey P. Long. John Rufi of the University of Missouri indicated some of the ways in which a school administrator can protect his school and teachers against outside interference and pressure—"Come back strong," "Jine 'em and lead 'em," "Beat 'em to it," or "Smother 'em in red tape." C. M. Destler of the South Georgia Teachers College, who also spoke, reviews the Yearbook in this issue. Elmer Ellis, president of the National Council and editor of the Yearbook, closed the session, pointing to the practical nature of the chapters on the press, the radio, the movies, pressure groups, and on classroom procedures, and to the carefully selected reference suggestions.

A dinner session closed the meetings. Ruth West of Spokane, Washington, second vice-president of the National Council, presided. H. C. Nixon of Tulane University indicated that at present "The Status of the Social Studies Teacher" is something less than satisfactory both so far as his ability to attain reasonable professional competence and his freedom from various restraints are concerned. Erling M. Hunt noted the ever-increasing stress on the present and its problems, together with the effort to make social-studies teaching practical and functional, but called attention to

the difficulties arising from inadequate information about current affairs, the limitations of teachers, and the restrictions imposed by society.

The program of the meetings was arranged by Mr Ellis. The local arrangements were in the competent charge of C. C. Henson, of the Isadore Newman School, chairman; the meetings also owed much to Stella Herron of the Margaret C. Hanson Normal School, to Mrs Denham of Louisiana State University, and to Mr McGinty, president of the Social Studies Section of the Louisiana State Teachers Association.

#### DALLAS, TEXAS

The teachers of the social studies in the public schools of Dallas, Texas, had Dr Howard E. Wilson, secretary-treasurer of the National Council for the Social Studies, as their guest speaker for a group of lectures on February 26-27. The topics discussed were "New Standards for the Social Studies Teachers"; "A Basic Method of Teaching the Social Studies"; and "A Social Studies Program for Grades I through XII." Tentative plans were made for the formation of a regional Social Studies Club which would include the North Texas Division of the State Teachers Association.

#### MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

The thirtieth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association will be held in St Louis, Missouri, April 29 to May 1. The program, which appears in the March issue of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, includes sessions devoted to "American Economic History," to "Recent American History," the "Trans-Mississippi West," and "American Humor." The plans for the teachers' session on May 1 are announced by the Missouri Council for the Social Studies, below.

#### MISSOURI

The joint meeting of the Missouri Council for the Social Studies and the Teachers'

Section of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association will be held on May 1 at St Louis. In the morning John Perry Mitchell will describe "An Instance of the Scholarly Lag in Textbooks." The Missouri State Curriculum will be discussed by A. B. Smith, Katherine Clarke, N. W. Rickoff, W. Frances English, and Julian C. Aldrich. The luncheon speaker will be Irving Brant, whose topic is "Storm Over the Constitution." In the afternoon Howard R. Anderson will speak on "Testing Attitudes and Understanding," and Edgar B. Wesley on "Social-Studies Teaching in New York State."

The new officers of the Missouri Council for the Social Studies are C. H. McClure, State Teachers College, Kirksville, president, Mary Keith, State Teachers College, Springfield, vice-president, Julian C. Aldrich, Webster Groves, secretary, and R. V. Harmon, Northeast Junior College, treasurer.

#### IOWA

The Seventeenth Annual Conference of the Teachers of History and the Social Studies in the Schools and Colleges of Iowa and Neighboring States was held at the University of Iowa on February 5 and 6. The program included addresses on propaganda in the social studies by Howard R. Anderson and Elmer Ellis, on "New Problems of Neutrality" by Kirk H. Porter, "Some Reflections on Freedom and Order," by Harry D. Gideonse, "History and a Changing World," by James T. Shotwell, and "Democracies and Dictatorships," by Robert C. Brooks.

#### WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA

The winter meeting of the Western Pennsylvania Council for the Social Studies was held in Pittsburgh on Thursday, March 4. A new constitution was adopted. The main address of the evening was by Professor Peter H. Odegard of Ohio State University, on the subject "Streamlining the American Government," a discussion of changes in



governmental practices in the United States that seemed desirable to the speaker.

The present officers of the Western Pennsylvania Council are Arthur G. Henry, Dormont High School, president; Eulalia Schramm, Carrick High School, Pittsburgh, secretary; S. L. Slick, Crafton High School, treasurer.

#### NEW YORK CITY

The Annual Junior High School Conference met at New York University on March 12 and 13. At the meeting of the social-studies section on March 13 five questions were considered: What fields of study should be included in the social-studies program? How are we going to get good teachers for the new program? What are state departments of education doing to promote social studies? Where may teachers visit the social studies in action? Should visual aids have an important place in the program? Professor John N. Andrews of New York University presided. A panel discussion followed an address by Ignatius D. Taubeneck, director of social studies at Bronxville.

At a meeting of the Association of Civics Teachers of the City of New York on March 13 the principal speaker was James G. McDonald, now of the *New York Times*, formerly of the Foreign Policy Association. The use of the newspaper in teaching current history and civics was demonstrated with a class.

#### LUNCHEON FOR DR TILDSLEY

The Association of Social Studies Teachers of the City of New York is having its annual conference and luncheon on Saturday, May 8, 1937, on the roof garden of the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City. The luncheon is a testimonial to Dr John L. Tildsley, retiring assistant superintendent in charge of social studies.

The Association of Social Studies Teachers is a federation of the Association of Civics Teachers, the History Teachers' Association and the Economics Teachers' Association. Other organizations par-

ticipating in this testimonial to Dr Tildsley are the Middle States Association of History and Social Science Teachers, the Association of Social Studies Chairmen, and the Social Science and Civics Sections of the New York Society of the Experimental Study of Education.

Among the guests will be Mayor La Guardia, City Chamberlain A. A. Berle, Commissioners of Education Turner and Marshall, Associate Superintendent Roberts, Assistant Superintendents Ernst and Wright, and Examiner William A. Hannig. Lucian Lamm, chairman of the History Department of the Franklin K. Lane High School, Brooklyn, N. Y., is chairman of the committee on arrangements. Reservations may be made through Mr Adolph Stone, 79th Street and 17th Avenue, Brooklyn.

#### NEW ENGLAND

The New England History Teachers' Association will meet at Smith College on May 1. The Report on History of the College Entrance Examination Board will be discussed by Mr Norman S. McKendrick of Phillips Exeter Academy, Professor Howard E. Wilson of Harvard University, and a third speaker. The luncheon address will be delivered by President Dixon Ryan Fox of Union College.

A committee has been appointed "to receive and report suggestions for the reorganization of the Association for better service to the members"; the members are Howard E. Wilson of Harvard University, Viola Barnes of Mt Holyoke College, John Crowder of Old Avon Farms School, Melville Freeman of the Roxbury High School of Practical Arts, and Tyler Kepner of the Brookline High School.

The 1937 officers of the New England History Teachers' Association are Mary L. Stevenson, Rhode Island Teachers' College, president; Dorothy Kendall, Milton Academy, vice-president; and Horace Kidger, Newton High School, secretary-treasurer. The elected members of the

council are Halford Hoskins, Tufts College, Harold U. Faulkner, Smith College, and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Harvard University; ex-officio Warren O. Ault, Norman S. McKendrick, and Thomas Richardson.

### SOCIAL STUDIES IN EUROPE

The Historical Association of England held its thirty-first annual meeting from January 6 to January 9 at Hull. The annual address was delivered by Professor G. M. Trevelyan on "The Relation of the Two-Party System to British Foreign Policy in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries." There were various excursions to points of interest in the city of Hull, and one of the principal addresses was on "Hull, 1200-1800." One session was devoted to a discussion of "Citizenship and the Teaching of History." Among those participating was Miss Frances Consitt, now principal of Bingley Training College, who is well known for her study, *The Value of Films in History Teaching*, published in 1931 (London: Bell). Another was Frederick R. Worts, headmaster of The City of Leeds School, who within the past year and a half has published a challenging analysis of the problem of teaching history, *The Teaching of History in Schools: A New Approach* (London: Heineman, 1935). Within the same period Eric C. Walker has attacked the problem of the apparent failure of school history in *History Teaching for To-day* (London: Nisbet, 1935). The topic, therefore, appears to have been a timely one.

Frederick C. Happold, well known here for his *Approach to History* (London: Christophers, 1928), has recently published *Citizens in the Making* (London: Christophers, 1935), describing some of his experiments at the Bishop Wordsworth's School at Salisbury, where he is at present headmaster. He and his assistants have recently launched a course in the social studies which has as its general theme for the first year "World Heritage and Environment." England is studied in the second

year with an attempt to combine the history and geography of the country and a bit of its economic history. The third year is devoted to "a picture of the world into which the boy will go." This is divided into four parts including brief treatments of economic organization, of "how we are governed," of modern affairs, and of modern life. The aim of the whole is to enable the pupil to see his environment in relation to his past heritage. The effort is to break down what Mr Happold insists are "absurd" subject divisions and to bring a greater unity into the curriculum. Mr Happold has tentative plans for making his school an observation center, since it has already attracted the attention of visitors from all over the world. He has drawn up a general plan for such contacts in which visitors would spend four or five days in this old cathedral town. He wants to know whether such a project would have the support of American students coming to England and welcomes comments.

The Historical Association is planning a somewhat unusual experiment of a vacation school "devoted to an examination under expert guidance of recent historical research into four subjects, Feudalism, the Medieval Parliament, the Industrial Revolution, and Post-War International Politics," to be held in the University College of Wales at Aberystwyth at Easter.

The Council of the History Association authorized its representatives on the International Committee of Historical Sciences to support the following resolution: "That in the teaching of History the aim of the teacher should be the impartial selection, presentation and interpretation of facts. He should endeavor by these means to prepare his pupils to form independent judgments based upon a sound appreciation of the importance of an impartial study of the relevant data."

### ENGLISH TEACHING FILMS

Within the past three years the Gaumont British Instructional Limited, a company of the Gaumont British film corporation,

has undertaken the production of teaching films. They are just undertaking a series of history pictures. Films of two types are being produced, the first showing historic survivals of customs and social life as they are practised at the present day; the second type is entirely diagrammatic. In the first group they have produced "Mediaeval Village," showing life in the village of Laxton (from which the inhabitants of Lexington emigrated). In this village the old feudal method of land cultivation by means of three open fields has survived. "This Was England" is another film of the same type showing how in Suffolk at the present day agricultural methods of every period, from the stone age to the present, are employed. In the diagrammatic type of film the company has already produced "The Expansion of Germany (1870-1914)," and "The Development of English Railways." They are working on such subjects as the fluctuations of the coal industry of the last hundred years, the working of the Continental System, changes in the franchise from 1832 to the present day, and the colour question in South Africa. Six films of the diagrammatic type are scheduled to be made this year on the "Working of English Local Government" for use in history and civics classes. The age limits for which these films are designed are from 14 to 16, but the company has found that in the hands of intelligent teachers they can be used to advantage in classes even of eleven-year olds.

#### GERMANY

*Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, the organ of German teachers of history (founded by Dr Fritz Friedrich and Paul Ruhlmann), has just completed its twenty-sixth year of publication. The editorial staff was expanded in 1931 to include Professor Wilhelm Mommsen and Oberstudienrat Baustaedt, and the publishers announced that the magazine would endeavor to link together more closely the instructing staffs in the universities and in the schools, and would give more attention to the problems

of education for citizenship. In 1933 Dr Fritz Friedrich resigned his connection with the magazine and was succeeded by Dr Mortiz Edelmann. His withdrawal coincided with the advent of Adolf Hitler to power, and since this date the magazine has reflected more and more the ideas of the National Socialist Party. In the volume just completed the problems of method discussed include the Jewish question in German history, the history of German physical training, and German prehistory: its program and its problems in their relation to National Socialist education, a proposal for carrying through the ministerial recommendation for teaching race in history. Articles dealing more specifically with subject matter are concerned with such timely questions as "Race and People (Volksthum) in Bolshevist Kulturgeschichte," "The Idea of Race in its Relation to the Germans Outside the Reich," "Germany's Fight for Equality," "History Teaching and Preparedness." The two hundredth anniversary of the death of Prince Eugene, and the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the death of Frederick the Great, are the occasion for articles strongly impregnated with National Socialistic aims. From September 20 to September 23 of this past year the Union of Associations for German History and Ancient Culture, an organization of historians dating back to 1852, and including associations outside Germany, held its meetings at Karlsruhe. Its president, Vice-Chancellor Professor Willy Hoppe of Berlin announced as the chief task of the organization the building of German unity through the state. The pursuit of history he insisted must yield much more than mere knowledge. It must awaken energies which will recreate among the German people a consciousness of their worth. Several Germans from outside the Reich were present, among whom the group from Austria was especially noted. Dr Wilhelm Grau of the staff of the Reichsinstitut for the History of the New Germany, discussed the Jewish question, pointing out the extent to which



it had always led to division. He traced the origin and development of Bolshevism to the emancipation of the Jews following the French Revolution. "Had Karl Marx continued to live in the Ghetto there would have been no Lenin," was one of his significant statements. German Particularism came in for discussion in which the developments of the middle ages were linked with the policy of Der Fuehrer. As was perhaps to be expected, the second annual meeting of the history group of the National Socialist Association of Teachers which was held at Ulm from October 17 to 21 gave even stronger evidence of Nazi influence. Reichs-leader Alfred Rosenberg who addressed the teachers on "German Values in the Struggle for a World Vision."

DANIEL C. KNOWLTON

New York University

#### INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE

*International Conciliation*, the monthly publication of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, published in March the speeches of President Justo, President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, together with the texts of the treaties and resolutions which were adopted. (Document No. 328. 5 cents. Address 405 West 117th Street, New York City.)

#### THE SUPREME COURT

*The Congressional Digest* for March is devoted to the Supreme Court controversy. The present situation is analyzed and described, the history of the court and of previous criticisms of it are surveyed, the New Deal decisions summarized, and statements by the Attorney General, Senators La Follette, Borah, and Wheeler, and others, quoted.

Single copies are fifty cents; bulk orders less. Address 213, LeRoy Place, Washington.

*Vital Speeches of the Day* for March 1 is also largely concerned with the Supreme

Court. Speeches by the Attorney General, Senators Bailey and La Follette, Mr Hoover, Mr Landon, and Dean Clark of the Yale Law School are quoted. The issue of March 15 includes speeches by the President, Senator Bulkley, James Truslow Adams, and Raymond Moley on the same subject. (Fifteen cents a copy. Address 33 West 42nd Street, New York City.)

#### CURRICULUM JOURNAL

Beginning with the January issue the *Curriculum Journal* appears in printed rather than mimeographed form. It is edited at Ohio State University by Dr Henry Harap.

The January issue includes brief accounts of the current Oregon and Arkansas curriculum projects; in the February number Kenneth L. Heaton surveys "State Curriculum Programs for 1936-37" in twenty-seven states. A proposed volume on the curriculum is outlined in the same issue.

#### NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

The February issue of *The Journal of Educational Sociology* is devoted to "Non-school Agencies in the Development of Nationalism and Internationalism." Francis J. Brown, in "Media of Propaganda," discusses the press, the radio, and the motion picture. Other articles are devoted to the churches, labor organizations, commercial organizations, and patriotic societies. A useful partial list of organizations publishing materials for study groups is appended.

#### ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY

The February number of *High Points*, the monthly magazine for high-school teachers in New York City, includes "Suggestions Concerning a New Syllabus in Economic Geography," by Pauline Michel Papke of the Samuel J. Tilden High School. Assuming that the course is offered to commercial students, and that "the primary aim

of all social sciences is the building of an intelligent citizenry," the author proposes to develop "ability to find and evaluate facts, to read maps, to interpret and construct charts and graphs," and to provide factual knowledge needed in intelligent reading and voting. The value of economic history is stressed, with attention to the world scene to show "how people throughout the world earn a living," and with attention to modern interdependence. The commodity, regional, and problem approaches are briefly evaluated. A skeleton outline of topics is included, as is a "master-outline" for teachers' lesson organizations.

#### TRAFFIC SAFETY

A 48-page manual of teaching aids for high schools which are presenting good driving instruction or courses in traffic safety has just been published by the National Bureau of Casualty and Surety Underwriters. The manual is entitled "A Teacher's Manual—Designed for Use with 'Man and the Motor Car'." It supplements the National Bureau's 256-page text book, "Man and the Motor Car," published a year ago, and should be useful in high schools which have inaugurated automobile driving instruction or traffic safety as part of their curriculum. The manual was prepared under the editorial direction of Dr Herbert J. Stack, Director of the National Bureau's Education Division, and a committee of educators and traffic safety authorities. It contains 16 units of instruction, each one of which presents a group of test questions, several problems relating to the lesson, a number of student activities, and a broad list of supplementary references. Attention is given to the teaching of driving skills and attitudes, the possibilities of getting outside help from judges, police authorities, automobile dealers and others, methods for vitalizing safety, visual aids such

as motion pictures, lantern slides, talking slide films, the availability of teaching materials and many other teacher's problems. Seventeen large photographs are included, each dramatizing a particular unit. The manual sells for fifteen cents a copy. Address the National Bureau Casualty and Safety Underwriters, 1 Park Avenue, New York City.

Another brief publication concerned with traffic safety is *Common Sense in Driving Your Car*, by Richard Alexander Douglas (New York: Longmans, Green, 1936, pp. 63, 36 cents). It is written in popular style, and includes attention to "ABC's of Good Driving," "City Driving," "Country Driving," "Night Driving," "Bad Weather Driving," and "Keeping Your Car Fit." A ten-page problem book, with tests and a teachers' manual, prepared by William Marshall French, is included.

#### PREDICTING ACHIEVEMENT

Harl R. Douglass and Kopple C. Freeman analyze "The Relation of Certain Factors to Achievement in College Social Studies and History" in *The School Review* for March. They conclude that college grades in these fields "can be predicted with rough accuracy by a combination of such factors as average mark made in high school in all studies and ratings or tests of general mental ability." Not surprisingly they find that the number of units taken in high school in these fields is not correlated with college success, though the quality of work done in high school has significance.

*Readers are invited to send in items for "Notes and News." Items for September should be sent by August 1.*

*Contributors to this issue include Myrtle Roberts, Ruby Keith, Julian C. Aldrich, Howard R. Anderson, R. O. Hughes, D. C. Knowlton, Lucian Lamm, Michael Levine, Horace Kidger, and Henry Harap.*

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## BOOK REVIEWS

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**The Unique Function of Education in American Democracy.** 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.: Educational Policies Commission, National Education Association of the United States and the Department of Superintendence, 1937. Pp. 129. 50c per copy with discounts on quantity orders.

This volume, modestly put out by the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association and the Department of Superintendence without the name of an author on the title page but with an acknowledgement of very great indebtedness to Charles A. Beard, will rank as one of the most significant expositions of the meaning of American education that has yet appeared. If the Educational Policies Commission should publish nothing else, it will already have deserved well of the American public and of the teaching profession by bringing before them in this volume the significant features of American education in the past and the outstanding issues in the present. The appeal of this book is that, in dealing with an old subject, it is fresh and, in discussing new issues, it seeks to bring their solution back into line with the great tradition of education. This volume does not have any particular axe to grind. It is neither conservative nor progressive. It does not seek to promote one set of studies in favor of another. It does not find everything in education so bad as to attempt to make a completely new start, to tear everything up by the roots, and to ignore everything that has been.

The situation that has been developing in American education for nearly two decades, at first slowly and then with increasing rapidity during the depression, could only be characterized by a statement made by Santayana with reference to American philosophy: "One of the peculiarities of recent speculation, especially in America, is that ideas are abandoned in virtue of mere change of feeling, without any new evidence or new arguments. We do not now refute our predecessors, we pleasantly bid them good-bye." Those who have suddenly awakened to a realization of the reciprocal influences of education and social change and are still not sure which comes first will find much to ponder over in the statement by the author of the present volume that "in stepping over the boundaries of their profession to find their bearings, educators are at the same time compelled, by the nature of their obligations, to hold fast to those values of education which endure amid the changes and exigencies of society." And so, too, those who have been insistent on the creative aspects of education are reminded that education has not only creative but "conservative functions and obligations of the highest order." Again those who refuse to accept the existence of eternal verities and consider it immoral to have anything fixed in advance in education will be shaken in their equanimity by the statement that "education has its own treasures heavy with the thought and sacrifices of the centuries. It possesses a heritage of knowledge and heroic examples—accepted values



stamped with the seal of permanence." It is refreshing after the forbidding pile of educational literature which has been dished up in a jargon of its own about attitudes, objectives, drives, needs and urges, and self-expression, and with never anything but a derogatory reference to knowledge, to find the following paragraph headings in the book under consideration: "Education Embraces Knowledge, Training and Aspiration," "Knowledge of the Practical and Social Arts," "Knowledge of the Funded Wisdom and Aspirations of the Race," "Knowledge Alone Is Not Enough—Ethics Is Indispensable." In fact everything in the educational tradition that has been decried and attacked as outworn, obsolete, and outmoded in the educational literature of the past generation is restored to its rightful place, when discussed by a mind itself educated and trained. Not only will the pedagogical doxosophists view with alarm a definition of education which in line with the great tradition still shows some respect for knowledge and its presentation, for information, discipline, ethical standards, and other imperatives, but claims that "it is likewise the bounden duty of education to give that mental training which prepares the people for discussion in an informed and equitable spirit." In a word the obligations of education and educators remain the same as ever and the splurge of methods, curriculum revision, objectives, and so on will never take the place of competent and qualified teachers and administrators. There are difficulties and obstacles in the way; "the answer, however, is not to lower the objectives established, to seek an easier way, or to narrow education to the routine of the common denominator in the profession. The ideals are clearly before us, in the heritage of education and in the prescriptions of its leaders from antiquity to our own times."

The book is published at a price low enough to place it within the reach of all teachers. Superintendents and principals should see to it that it gets into the hands

of the taxpaying public and of parents. If this book does not prove to mark the beginnings of a salutary return to sanity, then there is little hope for American education.

I. L. KANDEL

Teachers College  
Columbia University

**American Democracy and the World War. Pre-War Years, 1913-1917.** By Frederick L. Paxson. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1936. Pp. 427. \$3.75.

In this treatment of events leading up to our entry into the war, there is neither harsh condemnation of one set of belligerents nor fulsome praise of the other. The strained relations of the United States and Great Britain are made clear: "It was war with England . . . that Wilson feared might follow the period of neutrality. . . . The maritime policy of the Allies nearly forced his hand" (p. 309). The treatment of Count von Bernstorff is generally sympathetic. Von Bernstorff's advice to his government was unheeded, although he warned his superiors that war would follow the resumption of submarine warfare. Considerable attention is devoted to the election of 1916. The author states that the condemnation of the slogan, "He kept us out of war," did not come during the campaign but five months later, when it became plain that the United States would be drawn into the conflict; and the reader is convinced that the author considers such condemnation unjustified. In the political story and in the account of war preparations a clear picture of Theodore Roosevelt is given, and one can not help wondering if such a view of the doughty colonel could have been presented in 1920.

Perhaps the political phases are overemphasized, but social and economic developments, such as the struggles of labor, educational changes, and the problems of immigration, are not neglected. There is an especially good chapter on the federal revenue with a clear, non-technical discussion of tariff and taxes. The book has neither bibliography nor footnotes, and the

index is not entirely adequate. Although it seems apparent that the statements rest on sound authority, documentation would strengthen them. Moreover it appears that the author relied on diaries and official documents to the neglect of contemporary newspapers and periodicals. There are a few doubtful, although not significant, statements such as the one that President-elect Wilson chose his cabinet at Princeton (p. 7). Some of the incidents are treated better in other works, and Professor Paxson has added little that is new; but on the whole this work is a calm, judicious, interesting presentation of the important features of the pre-war years.

ELIZABETH COCHRAN

Kansas State Teachers College  
Pittsburg, Kansas

**In 1936.** By Alvin C. Eurich and Elmo C. Wilson. New York: Holt, 1937. Pp. viii, 620. \$2.00.

The publication of this volume will prove a boon to all social-studies classes keyed to keep an eye on the contemporary scene, whether or not there is direct teaching of current events. The busy teacher who has found it impossible to keep up on all the varied occurrences of the past twelve months by means of the newspapers and magazines can, by reading this book, readily fill in the gaps of information that may now trouble him. He will also certainly learn of new developments which had hitherto escaped his notice in the rapidly changing panorama of economic, political, and cultural life. Adolescents who last year read their newspapers only for comics and sport pages may be stimulated to a widened news-interest. The sprightly style, the attractive pictures, and the absence of such paraphernalia as tables, footnotes, and appendices clearly indicate that the book was intended for reading rather than for reference. It may, nevertheless, well serve the latter purpose with the aid of the index (despite its regrettable omissions and inadequacies) and the topical arrangement.

A review of political and economic de-

velopments within the United States constitutes the first third of the volume. The second third pictures "the international scene." The remainder is devoted to education, science, literature, the arts, and sports. Among the various lesser topics treated are crime, clothes, stage, screen, and pin games. There is very scant mention of such events as births, deaths, and marriages, and there is not a word about religion or the churches. "*In 1936* brings together," according to the preface, "events chronicled piecemeal in dailies, weeklies, monthlies, and a host of other sources." The topics treated are those which the authors regarded as the "outstanding events" of the year 1936. Their judgment seems to have been largely influenced by representative journalistic opinion, such as was revealed in the numerous news summaries of 1936 that appeared in our newspapers during the last week of the old year. The authors frankly acknowledge their dependence upon newspapers and magazines, citing in particular the names of one daily, five weeklies, and two monthlies. They make no claim to having attempted the manifestly impossible task of verifying their facts through intensive research. No major errors of fact were detected by this reviewer, who would venture the opinion that the historical accuracy of the work is at least on a par with that of our better newspapers and periodicals.

Although the authors claim that their book "presents major and significant trends rather than a factual chronology," there is really very little in the nature of fundamental interpretation. The book is much more of a compendium of events than an essay on trends. This quality commends itself to the present reviewer as more desirable, for interpretation is inevitably controversial, and its use would tend to weaken faith in the accuracy of the facts. When the authors do deviate from their usual objectivity, they are most open to criticism, for example, when they say that the League of Nations is dead (p. 415) and when they discredit the

Baldwin government (p. 337). They also evince occasional lack of restraint in their unreserved enthusiasms, as for adult education, the TVA, G-men, and in their tendency toward overstatement when they write that skiing equals baseball and football as a national sport. In other ways throughout the book, evaluative judgments are rendered, condemnation and commendation are apportioned, and the authors yield to their temptations to moralize and to prophesy. In defense of such characteristics it must be admitted that they serve to whet and sustain reader interest. Probably the best portions of the book, from the standpoint of originality of treatment and critical insight as to significant trends, are the chapters on art and education. To the former topic is devoted the second longest chapter of the book. It reveals to laymen in striking fashion the notable recent advances of art in America. In discussing educational trends for 1936, the authors note a "new emphasis" on social problems (p. 425). They also call particular attention to the rapidly developing influence of non-school agencies of education (p. 443).

The authors are known to many teachers as the makers of several widely used tests on contemporary affairs. Their published tests in this field grew out of their collaboration about four years ago in the construction of comprehensive examinations for use in the new General College (then called "Junior College") at the University of Minnesota. Mr Wilson is instructor in that institution's highly popular course in current affairs. Dr Eurich is professor of educational psychology and testing adviser to the General College. Their first venture at book publication in this field deserves the particular attention of teachers of contemporary affairs, current events, and problems of democracy; and it is to be hoped that this book may become the first of an annual series.

WILBUR F. MURRA

Graduate School of Education  
Harvard University

**Minnesota: Its History and Its People. A Study Outline with Topics and References.**

By Theodore C. Blegen, with the assistance of Lewis Beeson. Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1937. Pp. viii, 237. \$1.75.

The richness of state history as a field for teaching and study is admirably demonstrated in Dr Blegen's study outline for Minnesota history. The author has drawn upon his experience as superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society and his many years of teaching the subject at the University of Minnesota to present a state history outline that is a model of its kind.

The title of the book does not adequately indicate its value to teachers and students generally in American history. The author conceives of state history as an integral part of the development of American life and institutions. Following out this conception and at the same time bringing out those developments peculiar to Minnesota, the author presents a series of fifty-three topical outlines, complete with stimulating study suggestions and questions, and extensive critical bibliographies. The entire series is introduced by a brief essay on the nature of Minnesota history and a lengthy bibliographical essay designed to assist teachers in building up a working library of Minnesota historical materials. The subjects range from the physical setting and original Indian occupation, through the French and British colonial periods with their fur trade and frontier problems, to the era of American penetration and development. The latter era naturally occupies fully four-fifths of the volume and covers a broad range of subjects. The author has emphasized social life, economic conditions, and cultural and religious aspects, as well as the political history of the state, in all cases fitting the Minnesota developments into regional and national history. One finds the Northwest fur trade, pioneer settlement and activity, transportation development, foreign immigration and interstate migration, the lumber industry, the flour-milling



industry, the rich iron mines, the industrial growth of the region, labor organization, agrarian discontent, and other economic aspects; the emergence of Minnesota from territorial status to full statehood and political life; the religious life of the people from the early Indian missions to the later church organizations; the early rise of educational institutions to train the youth of a growing commonwealth; the effects of national crises such as the Civil War, the World War, and a succession of economic depressions; the recreational life of the state of ten thousand lakes; the contributions of Minnesotans to American letters, music, and arts; and contemporary problems which the people of Minnesota share with all Americans in the post-war and depression period.

The author has succeeded to an unusual degree in injecting vitality and life into a field all too often the realm of antiquarianism. This has been done especially through the stimulating study suggestions and questions and the illustrative maps. The annotated bibliographies alone are worth the price of the book, for they include new materials on almost every aspect of the history of the upper Middle West, from colonial times to the present. To all teachers who want a suggestive, model state history outline as well as an invaluable aid to the study of general American history, this volume is heartily recommended.

CARLTON C. QAULEY

Bard College  
Columbia University

**Central Europe and the Western World.** By Gerhard Schacher. New York: Holt, 1937. Pp. iv, 224. \$2.75.

In this short and readable volume Dr Schacher attempts to analyze the current economic (agrarian, industrial, financial) difficulties confronting the states of Central Europe, specifically Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, and Yugoslavia, and discusses four general schemes which have thus far been advanced to alleviate the distress. The suggested plans of reconstruction include the idea of the economic

Little Entente (1933), the principle of the Rome Agreements (1934) among Italy, Austria, and Hungary, the proposal for *Anschluss* or union between Germany and Austria, and the restoration of the Hapsburgs in Austria and Hungary. The author, arguing strongly for the retention of the territorial and political status quo in Central Europe, displays considerably more sympathy for the problems and ambitions of the member states of the Little Entente than for those of Austria and Hungary. Regarding the concepts of *Anschluss*, Hungarian revisionism, and Hapsburg restoration as "destructive forces which since the conclusion of the peace treaties have steadily prevented the discovery of any really constructive solution of the Central European problem," Dr Schacher advocates as the essential preliminary step towards recovery in this part of the world the combination of the ideas embodied in the economic pact signed by Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Yugoslavia in 1933 and the agreements signed by Italy, Austria, and Hungary in 1934, in each case providing for exchanges of agrarian and industrial products. The chief weakness of his argument would seem to be that he tries to base his case entirely on economic and trade statistics and fails to give sufficient weight to the emotional, particularly nationalistic, factors which, to many of the people involved, appear to overbalance potential material advances. Where he confines himself to describing the actual economic resources and the marketing and financial difficulties of the states under consideration, the author is on surer ground, is relatively free of bias, and makes fewer debatable generalizations. It is unfortunate that the book does not have documentation, bibliography, or index.

WALTER CONSUELO LANGSAM

Columbia University

**We or They.** By Hamilton Fish Armstrong. New York: Macmillan, 1936. Pp. 103. \$1.50.

This brief volume gives a disturbing

picture of "two worlds in conflict"—the world of liberal democratic principles and that of authoritarianism. Along a worldwide front the lines are tensely drawn for a struggle-to-the-death between these antagonistic forces. The conflict seems inevitable, for neither the democrats nor the authoritarians can enjoy security while the others exist. The author's Spenglerian pessimism ends here, however, because he believes that, with the proper vigilance at home and abroad, the dictatorships, throwbacks of medievalism that they are, can be defeated. He believes that the fight against authoritarian rule must be waged along two fronts, the domestic and the international. The remaining democracies must cooperate to halt "the man on horseback." For us, inaction is a form of action. "To boast that we have no interest in the struggle for freedom is to encourage the forces that threaten it—probably to augment them—perhaps to make inevitable 'the last battle of the West'—perhaps in the end to find ourselves fighting it alone." On the home front we must never be taken in by the smooth arguments of the "Marxist" or "Fascist" enemies of democracy. We must remember that while they use our words they imply different meanings. We must never allow them to organize. Unfortunately the author, like so many other writers, does not make it clear just how a democracy can enforce its guarantees of free speech, press and assembly, and at the same time deny them to those who, by their use, propose to abolish them.

RUSSELL FRASER

East Orange High School  
East Orange, New Jersey

**An Atlas of Empire.** By J. F. Horrabin.  
New York: Knopf, 1937. Pp. x, iv, 141.  
\$1.50.

Those who are already acquainted with the author's earlier "atlases," of current affairs and of European history, will need no more than a notice that this book is available to order it. He has a unique skill in converting into a single map the underly-

ing factors in a given problem for which pages of description are much less adequate. In the current *Atlas* he has explored the contemporary empires of France, Great Britain, Holland, and the United States, and he has indicated the basic elements, racial, geographic, economic, and diplomatic, which different aspects of these empires create or illustrate. In seventy black and white maps, with half a page or so of descriptive material for each, he has drawn an inescapable picture of contemporary imperialism. No more useful classroom material can be found anywhere. Problems come alive in a way that no amount of description or analysis will evoke.

PHILLIPS BRADLEY

Amherst College

**Money—What It Is and What It Does.** By Frank D. Graham and Charles H. Seaver.  
New York: Newson, 1936. Pp. 158. 80c.  
**Taxes—Benefit and Burden.** By M. Slade Kendrick and Charles H. Seaver. New York: Newson, 1937. Pp. 189. 80c.

The first book is a very satisfactory discussion of the place of money in our society. The authors start out by citing an actual illustration of a broader economy and how it works. Almost half of the book follows with a description of various kinds of money that have been used in the past. Chapter viii gives a very simple discourse on how bank deposits affect our monetary system. By all odds the most important material in the book is contained in chapter xi under the title "Who Tends the Scales?" This is a very simple but fundamental presentation of the extreme difficulty of controlling our monetary system. The following quotation will indicate the general trend of the argument: "The people who cling to gold as the best standard do so because they are afraid that the issuers of token money not backed by or anchored to gold would abuse their power and overissue. It is so very easy for the issuing authorities to print money, and immediately so much more pleasant to pay governmental expenses in

this way than by imposing taxes, that the temptation to excessive issue is always strong." Then follows the argument of those who see the defects of money tied too closely to gold. The authors discuss many other changes advocated for our monetary system and in the end "hope that out of all the experiments now being made by governments, or yet to come, we shall before long attain a monetary system much better than any the world has yet known."

The second book gives a brief discussion of what we get for our taxes and of the functions of the national, state, and local governments. We are told who actually pays the taxes; and we are also given an introduction to the problem of the shifting of taxation and the individual upon whom it ultimately falls. The last half of the book deals largely with the development of taxation both in this country and abroad. It should prove a useful supplement to courses in civics, history, and economics.

HAROLD F. CLARK

Teachers College  
Columbia University

**Economics in a Changing World.** By Graham Allan Laing. Washington: American Association of University Women, 1936. Pp. 82. 50c.

The author, a professor of economics in California Institute of Technology, suggests that the chapters be used merely as a basis of discussion; but my economics classes and I found that this pamphlet is more than a "Guide for Studying Economic Change and How It Affects Human Lives." It is a dynamic treatise written by a "professor of foresight." The first chapter has an excellent definition of the functions of the economics system, and the objections to it are specifically stated. "In every respect we find that while the economic system functions after a fashion, the fashion is far below the possibilities. In short, we are not by any means satisfied; and we want to know first, why, and second, what to do about it." Changes in economic society are clearly analyzed in the second chapter. The ques-

tion at the end of the chapter, "How is human nature affected by environment?" correlates for us social and economic ideas. Pre-machine age and machine age are vividly pictured in chapters iii and iv. Also modern industrial techniques are contrasted with older methods, and the survey of scientific knowledge and inventive genius makes us realize how modern problems of industry have arisen. Although the monetary system is a mirage, "The Evolution of a Monetary System," chapter x, is enlightening. Chapter xii proves that "automatic self-regulated society" has proven a failure, and there is a "Necessity for a New Outlook," as discussed in chapter xiii.

As the pamphlet proceeded I was convinced that each chapter is a unit in itself, worthy of intensive study. All social-science teachers will find it a valuable addition to their libraries and excellent material for classrooms. If discussions suggested are utilized and references read, the "social intelligence" as well as the individual intelligence will profit; and the next generation will be prepared to face economics in a changing world.

HELLEN B. PINK

Central High School  
Minneapolis

**Our National Government.** By Frank Abbott Magruder and Catheryn Seckler-Hudson. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1936. Pp. vi, 652. \$1.80.

Common experience with textbooks on government indicates in them a notable sameness. The present volume, however, is to be highly commended for some fresh notes. One of these is a chapter called "Public Opinion in a Democracy." Also in three excellent chapters concerning federal administrative agencies for commerce, power, finance, labor, and relief, the authors guide the reader through ramifications of our growing bureaucracy. The volume is sufficiently timely to include discussion of the Social Security Board and reports on Reconstruction Finance Corporation activities to March, 1936. The authors have suc-



ceeded in their promise to place "emphasis upon the *functional activities* of government without neglecting the formal framework;" but one might wish that in an introductory college text something of the philosophy of democracy had been included. The student who has pursued a secondary course in American democracy should be prepared for something of this nature; and with the frequency of our exposure to the philosophies of competitive forms of government, exposition of our own should not go neglected. Incidentally, the clarity and simplicity of the language of this volume make it a valuable reference work for high-school seniors studying American democracy. The structure and function of the American government are analyzed in twenty-nine chapters. Appended to each is a set of well framed questions, some of which are of a controversial nature. The references suggested for each chapter are noteworthy for their up-to-dateness.

It is probably not querulous to question the reference to capitalism as a governmental system (p. 2) or the statement that "in spite of depression, individualism and collectivism in the United States produced a surplus of almost everything." In view of the revelations of *The Journal of the Joint Committee of Fifteen on Reconstruction* (by B. B. Kendrick, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. XLII, 1914), few longer believe that "the Fourteenth Amendment was added to the Constitution primarily to insure justice to the freed negro" (p. 521). On the whole the book is a readable one and apparently teachable. It is to be welcomed to a field not overcrowded with its like.

RUSSELL FRASER

East Orange High School  
East Orange, N. J.

**The One-House-Legislature.** By John P. Senning. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1937. Pp. xviii, 118. \$1.50.

The Nebraska experiment in reorganizing the state legislature is by all odds the

most important innovation in the structure of state government in this country in the last fifteen years. Indeed it may be said to be an even more important experiment than the administrative reorganizations which began about two decades ago, for out of a one-house legislature there will develop inevitably not only closer integration between the legislative and executive branches of the government but an increasing insistence upon improved administrative methods to co-ordinate the more efficient framing of policy, which such a legislature will make possible. The Nebraska one-house legislature met for the first time in January. It is too soon, of course, to tell what the results will be, but this little volume is packed with historical data not only as to the unicameral movement in Nebraska but as to other experiments and projects here and abroad. The author traces in detail the development of the plan in Nebraska, indicating the political background of the movement, the alignments, social and economic, in the state for and against it, and the ultimate program which has been written into the state constitution. He has also suggested some of the problems which this comparatively mild reform of state government will involve.

In an interesting foreword Senator George B. Norris, who is largely responsible for this as for many other developments in state and national government, suggests some of the issues which lie behind the experiment. "In this struggle [for the unicameral amendment] all the professional politicians, professional lobbyists, and all the individuals and corporations who had an advantage under the old system were lined up against those who were advocating the change." Many of these interests have continued their opposition during the opening days of the one-house legislature, and the future of the experiment, as Senator Norris points out, lies very largely in its capacity to organize itself effectively for business and not for obstruction. The test which the author lays down for the effectiveness of

the unicameral system—"its efficiency in establishing responsible trusteeship of the public interest"—is no less applicable to every state in the Union. If accountability for legislative policy is achieved more effectively in Nebraska than it has been in the past there or elsewhere, the movement for one-house legislatures is likely to become nation-wide. This brief volume will be an invaluable guide to an understanding of the problems involved.

PHILLIPS BRADLEY

Amherst College

**An Outline of Political Science.** College Outline Series. By Gertrude Ann Jacobsen and Miriam H. Lipman. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1937. Pp. vii, 232. 75c.

There are times when every teacher is called on to check matters of factual information. Students, too, need outlines to give sequence and meaning to their lecture notes. Framework of fact is needed by all of us as foundation for our theories. This book provides such a foundation and framework and is especially practical today, when many history teachers are finding it necessary to teach and interpret the changes in government taking place all over the world. General reading may furnish us with emotional reactions to communism and fascism, but few books give in clear outline the organization of government in dictatorial states. The book will also be useful to many teachers, who have been teaching traditional history for ten years or more and are now compelled by the new emphasis on social science to broaden their knowledge in related fields. The bibliography provided suggests some excellent books for further reading. Perhaps the greatest value in an outline of government is the clarification it gives to many terms and definitions, which the average secondary-school teacher uses daily.

This book must have been written for the better-than-average college student. It is quite detailed and presupposes a wide

knowledge in the field of political science. It is much too difficult and specialized for most high-school teachers and practically all high-school students.

KERMIT EBY

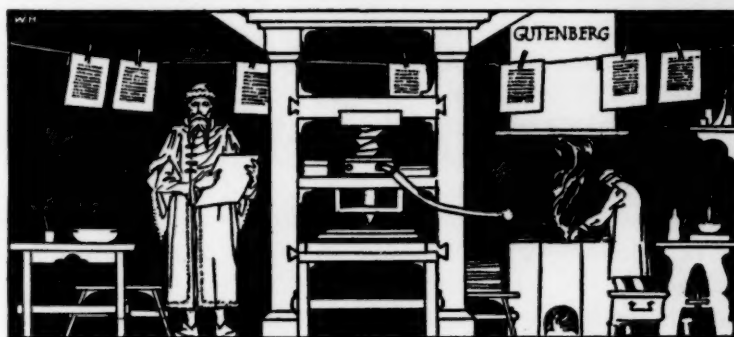
Senior High School  
Ann Arbor, Michigan

**Education Against Propaganda. Developing Skill in the Use of the Sources of Information about Public Affairs.** Seventh Yearbook, National Council for the Social Studies. Edited by Elmer Ellis. (Published by National Council for the Social Studies, 18 Lawrence Hall, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1937.) Pp. v, 182. \$2.00.

This *Yearbook* makes an important contribution to a neglected field of social-studies instruction. The growing importance of propaganda in public affairs has led several authorities to suggest that the reduction of its influence should be an important function of public education. Until the present, however, few attempts have been made to develop such a program on a comprehensive scale. In the volume under discussion the National Council for the Social Studies blocks out a workable method and makes its development the responsibility of social-studies teachers in the schools.

The first eight essays, each prepared by an authority, acquaint teachers with the basic elements of the problem. The objectives of education against propaganda—a general awareness of its extent and character, an acquaintance with propaganda techniques, and sound methods of weighing critically opposing propagandas—are developed in the first article. Subsequent chapters examine the forces that influence or control domestic news, foreign news and editorial policy in the press, as well as the movie and the radio. The influence of "reader interest" and advertisers, of "hand-outs" and the affiliations of the press associations; the "drying-up" of accurate sources of foreign news; how editorials are written and how they can be evaluated; why some newspapers are independent and

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others subject to influence are developed with other topics in a realistic and stimulating manner. One article analyzes the bias and abuse of the cinema, while "Propaganda and Radio" emphasizes the influence of monopoly and big business upon broadcasting. Another essay reviews the familiar efforts of patrioteers and special-interest groups to control the schools.

Practical methods of developing student skill in using the sources of information on public affairs are presented in the remaining chapters. Prepared for the most part by carefully selected social-studies teachers in the field, they sample the best contemporary theory and practice. Teachers provoked to action by the initial chapters will find in these effective means of educating students against propaganda. The detailed descriptions of experiments conducted in the schools indicate a variety of ways by means of which students can be acquainted with the character and methods of propaganda and trained to evaluate the special pleading of pressure groups. Each is designed to produce objective and critical attitudes toward the press, movie, or radio. A more or less scientific analysis of the results of these experiments reveals significant changes in student attitudes and greater immunity to propaganda.

Of special interest to those concerned with improving the effectiveness of social-studies instruction is the *Yearbook's* presentation of a teaching technique that aims directly at the development of the critical faculties. This deals one more blow to the tottering conception that teaching in the social studies is merely a matter of gathering and dispensing non-controversial information. Textbooks and the lecture method have no place in the regimen suggested by the contributors. In current events and the study of problems of the

twentieth-century instruction becomes a process of studying and weighing contrary opinions, a process in which students of necessity must play an active part. For such procedures a new type of teacher, new materials, and the enlightened support of school boards and school administrators become indispensable.

An exceptional freedom from typographical errors, the high standard maintained by the different contributors, and the high degree of unity achieved in the face of diverse authorship all bear witness to careful but unobtrusive editing. With but one important exception (compare p. 17 with p. 52, note), the articles on propaganda are free from contradictory statements. The brief reference lists at the close of these articles should be of assistance to teachers who wish to read more widely but are unfamiliar with the literature of the propaganda field. The chapter, "How to Read Foreign News," fails to note the recent effort of American press associations to free themselves from dependence upon foreign news agencies, while in "Propaganda and Radio" no hint is given that some of the views expressed are controverted by other writers in the field. The same article might have noted, also, that some independent radio news associations are relying upon those foreign news agencies, whose use for propaganda purposes was discussed in earlier articles. A concrete discussion of propaganda tricks and techniques, illustrated by examples from current practice, would have added materially to the *Yearbook's* usefulness to teachers in the field. Passages on pp. 123, 176-78, in part compensate for this deficiency. The lack of an index completes the list of minor flaws in this otherwise excellent volume.

CHESTER MCA. DESTLER

South Georgia Teachers College  
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